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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 19, 1 October 1980

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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COURSE OF ACTION—COMRADES MAO ZEDONG AND ZHOU ENLAI COMBATING IN NORTH SHAANXI

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 inside front cover

[Painting by Liu Wenxi [0491 2429 6007]]



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AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF VETERAN CADRES--MORE ON BECOMING A  
PROMOTER OF REFORM OF THE CADRE RANKS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 2-5

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] Selecting and promoting a large number of cadres who support the party line, persist in the socialist road, possess professional knowledge and organizational and leadership ability and are youthful and energetic to positions of leadership in various sectors is an important policy adopted by our party on the question of cadres. It is also a very important principle of the party in its cadre work during the new period. To strive to implement this principle is an urgent task confronting the whole party and an important political responsibility history has entrusted to our veteran cadres.

The implementation of this important principle is required by the four modernizations and by the times. At present, leadership at various levels is characterized by a high average age, while there is a scarcity of people who have professional and management knowledge. This is becoming more and more incompatible with the task of building modernization which confronts our country. The four modernizations will be hopeless if this problem is not solved. Our country is now at a juncture in history when we are carrying forward the cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Long-term efforts are required to build our country into a modern socialist power. It is only through lowering the average age of the leadership and intellectualizing and professionalizing the leadership that we can maintain the long-term continuity and stability of our line, principles and policies. At present, not only is there a need for this, but the possibility exists of solving this problem. After 4 years of bringing order out of chaos, the party has formulated an explicit ideological and political line, creating the basic conditions for solving this problem. At the same time, we have a large number of cadres, relatively young and energetic and relatively well equipped with modern knowledge in science, culture and professional and management knowhow, who have been assigned to the various fronts. The real problem is that we have not rationally utilized their skills and made arrangements for their placement and have not promoted those among them whose performance has been outstanding. Our party raised the problem of grooming, selecting and promoting successors as early as 1964. However, due to the 10 years of turmoil, cadre work in our party was greatly undermined, hampering a proper solution to this problem. Sixteen years have passed since then. Almost a whole generation of people has been lost. Therefore, the solution to this problem is a very

urgent matter today. This is an urgent requirement that exists objectively in the cause of building modernization in the country and is not an impulsive question raised by any individual.

In the implementation of this important principle and policy, what kind of political responsibility do the veteran cadres have? Their responsibility is to do a good job of discovering, selecting, promoting, supporting and helping the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres.

At present, the first thing is to be good at discovering, selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres and even breaking rules to promote exceptional cadres. Since the Central Committee raised this question, work in this aspect has been slow on a national scale. To change this situation, one important matter is to make a realistic analysis and assessment of the basic conditions of our middle-aged and young cadres. The middle-aged and young cadres we are referring to mainly pertain to the several millions of graduates from universities, middle schools and technical schools who have engaged in practical work for many years and those middle-aged and young cadres who have raised their scientific and cultural level and mastered certain professional skills through self-study while doing practical work. What are their basic conditions? First, they were trained and educated by our party after the liberation. Second, most of them have undergone long-term political tempering and tests. Third, they have accumulated certain practical experiences during their long years of work, and many of them possess certain organizational and leadership abilities. This shows that the conditions are present for selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. On the other hand, our veteran cadres have rich experiences in discerning, selecting and training cadres. If only we emancipate our minds, break away from old conventions, be bold in reforming outdated organizational and personnel systems and correctly grasp the party's qualifications for cadres, we are entirely capable of doing this work well.

However, some comrades think that middle-aged and young cadres have been greatly influenced by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and they have some misgivings about these cadres. We must admit there is some basis for such misgivings, because the leadership groups in some areas, departments and units have still not been reorganized. Some remnant factional elements might take advantage of our selection and promotion of middle-aged and young cadres to promote members of their factions. We must not underestimate the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." On this point we must keep a clear head. Regarding those who rose to their positions by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in staging rebellion, those who are seriously affected by factionalism and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting must definitely not be promoted. Not a single one of them should be promoted. Even those who have sneaked into the leadership group must be resolutely dismissed. However, we must also realize that those who followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in doing evil constitute only a very small minority. The great majority of our comrades are good or relatively good. In those "unprecedented" years the influence of the ultraleftist line spread throughout the party. It is not surprising that young people were more seriously affected. We should also see that at that time cadres who were better qualified in terms of professional knowledge were attacked and criticized under the charges of being "the stinking ninth category" or "taking

the white and expert road." These people support the leadership of the party, fervently love the cause of socialism, study and research hard and have a strong sense of responsibility to our cause. These characteristics are incompatible with the ultraleftist line. They detect the methods of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," a great majority of them have enthusiastically plunged into building the four modernizations and have achieved heartening results. "To test jade, one has to burn it for 3 full days; to test someone's ability, one has to wait and observe for 7 years." These cadres have passed the test of long years of tempering and trials. Particularly after the stiff test of the more than 10 years beginning from just before the 10 years of turmoil and ending with the period after those 10 years, many of them have proved to be pillars of building the four modernizations. One can rest easy in promoting outstanding cadres among them to leadership groups in accordance with the party's standards on cadres.

Other comrades feel they cannot trust middle-aged and young cadres because they lack leadership experience and cannot assume the heavy responsibility of leadership. We all know that experience in leadership work can only be gained from the practice of leadership work. The reason why middle-aged and young cadres lack experience in leadership work is that for a long time they have not been promoted to leadership posts and have not engaged in practicing leadership work. Furthermore, to be honest, the building of modernization is a new problem. Not only middle-aged and young cadres, but also veteran cadres lack experience in this area. Both types of cadres are capable of committing some errors and have actually committed quite a few. The thing is to learn lessons and sum up experiences from past mistakes. At the same time, we must also see that middle-aged and young cadres not only have some professional skills but also have accumulated experience in practical work in their respective posts and have observed the existing problems in our leadership work. At present, a large number of middle-aged and young cadres have already become the backbone force on various work fronts. Many of them are responsible for leadership work at the basic level and possess certain organizational and leadership abilities. They know the conditions of the masses relatively well and are well acquainted with actual conditions, sensitive to the latest developments and less restrained by outdated rules and evil practices and rigid conventions. These qualities are very important in implementing the party's line, particularly in effecting reforms in various aspects.

Experience in many localities has shown that, as long as we emancipate our minds, break with old conventions regarding the promotion of cadres, broaden our vision and correct our methods, a new generation of talented people will immediately appear before our eyes. Of course, we must be cautious in promoting cadres, but there is no need to make everything so mysterious. Since last year the Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that we must firmly promote a large number of cadres who persist in the party's line, possess professional knowledge and ability and are young and energetic to positions of responsibility in order to replenish and strengthen the leadership of the party and government. As long as we follow these three qualifications set by the Central Committee, undertake careful investigation and study and widely gather the opinion of the masses, we will be sure of being able to discover, select and promote a large number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. Taking this opportunity while the



veteran cadres are still alive to find a good solution to this problem will be the basic way to remove our doubts. If we do not seize the chance to do this work now and wait till the veteran comrades have departed before doing anything to solve this problem, it will be even more difficult. From the veteran cadres' point of view, this would be an error of historic proportions. That should really make us anxious!

While doing the work of discovering, selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres well, our veteran cadres must also have a strong sense of responsibility in supporting and helping middle-aged and young cadres. Support means backing them up and encouraging them to be bold in doing their work. When they encounter difficulties, veteran cadres must give them help. When they suffer unjust criticisms and insults, veteran cadres must protect them. At the same time, veteran cadres must sincerely and patiently acquaint them with the situation, help them master the procedures and help them familiarize themselves with work methods. They must also help them to study well and raise their theoretical level and their ability to carry out policy and work. They must help them sum up experiences, bring their strong points into full play and overcome their weak points. In short, they must do the job of passing on experience, giving help and setting a good example and help the middle-aged and young cadres to grow rapidly.

At present, the important political responsibility of the veteran cadres is to assist the party organizations to select and promote a large number of middle-aged and young cadres to assume the responsibilities of leadership and to take up positions of leadership in order to enable them to take up the burden of leadership work at all levels, acquire the skills to manage important affairs of the party and the state, lead the masses to build an enterprise through arduous labor, push the cause of the party forward and accomplish the historical mission of the four modernizations. This is a very arduous yet honorable task. The accomplishment of this task would be a tremendous contribution on the part of the veteran cadres to the party and to the people.

There is one trend of thought which holds that promoting middle-aged and young cadres to positions of leadership and having the veteran cadres recede to the second or third line seems as if one is doing away with the veteran cadres. This is not true. Our party has always regarded the veteran cadres as valuable treasures and wants them to play their role even better. Our veteran cadres embody the fine tradition and work style of the party, have rich working experience and enjoy high prestige. They can play their roles well in discovering, selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres and doing the job of passing on experience, giving help and setting a good example. This is the great expectation that the party and the people place in the veteran cadres and the honorable responsibility entrusted to them by history. Therefore, in the long term it is more meaningful for the veteran cadres to gradually recede to the second and third line than for them to stay on in the first line. It is only with the support and help of the veteran cadres that a new generation of talented people can emerge, that successors to the party's cause can be groomed and that there can be a guarantee for the continuity and stability of the party's line, principles and policies. Our veteran cadres must regard the work of training, selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres as an important matter concerning the future of the party and the state. They must stand higher and see further and strive to accomplish this important task.

Some comrades think that although they are not young they are still strong. They can still hold down their jobs for a while. We must admit that this really is true in the case of some veteran cadres who are still relatively healthy. However, the law of nature exempts no one. Our veteran cadres are old and weak, after all. Although some of them can still hold on in the frontline for a while, to have them do heavy work for a long time and work day and night as during earlier years would be more and more difficult. We must not be satisfied with holding on for a while at present. We must seriously consider the question of who will take on the tasks in 5 or 10 years. This is the question history is asking us to answer. To allow veteran cadres to recede to the second or third line is an important and farsighted decision. When the veteran cadres recede to the second and third line, they are free from heavy daily duties and can concentrate their energy on contemplating important affairs of the party and the state, acting as advisers and passing on experience, giving help and setting an example for the middle-aged and young cadres. This is also an important contribution to the party and the people. Of course, if they are still capable (in the case of veteran cadres, we refer mainly to their physical strength and energy), the higher their position, the more of a contribution they can make. But if they are no longer capable, there is the possibility that the higher their position, the greater the damage they will do. On the other hand, although some comrades are in a low position, or even do not hold any position at all, they have made great contributions. In real life there are many examples of these two types. Therefore, we must think more about how to increase the political responsibility we assume rather than whether we hold a high position or not.

Some comrades ask: How can one struggle for the cause of communism throughout one's life if one is to recede to the second or third line? It is only natural that this question should be asked. Many of our veteran cadres resolved to sacrifice everything, including their lives, and to struggle for communism throughout their lives the day they joined the revolution. They never considered and the party organization never suggested that one day they might have to recede to the second or third line. Therefore, now that they are encountering this problem, they are psychologically unprepared. Actually, receding to the second or third line is not in contradiction with struggling for communism throughout one's life. The reason why some comrades feel that there is a contradiction is that they confuse struggling for communism throughout one's life with occupying a leadership position throughout one's life. To struggle for communism throughout our lives is our ambition and our conviction. This means that we vow to adhere to our chosen course and remain revolutionary to the end. Every Communist Party member, no matter what position he occupies and whether or not he holds any position, as long as he stands firm on this ambition and conviction, will still be very concerned about the interests of the party and the people. He will fight to the last breath. Even if he does not hold a certain position, he will still concern himself with the relevant affairs and take the initiative to report the situation and propose suggestions to the party. To carry out one's responsibility thoroughly is to struggle for the cause of communism. As for the position one holds and the duties one is assigned, they must be determined by the requirements of the revolution. We must give serious thought to the idea that the heavy task of the four modernizations in a district or a department requires the leaders to take charge of organization and direction. If the leader is full of enthusiasm but does not have enough energy, it

will undermine the work. This runs directly counter to the pledge to struggle for communism throughout one's life and the ambition to uphold the interests of the party at all times.

At present, many of the veteran cadres have voluntarily asked to be relegated to the second and third lines in consideration of the basic and long-term interests of the party and the people. They are farsighted and focus on history as a whole rather than on their personal interests. They would like to do the work of selecting, promoting and training middle-aged and young cadres well and exert efforts to accomplish the great political task the party has entrusted to them. As Comrade An Zhen said while he was still alive: "When we see that good cadres who are young and energetic have assumed responsibility, we are witnessing the progress and development of the cause of the party. This is equivalent to seeing the achievement of the four modernizations." This fully expresses the common wish of the veteran cadres and the noble spiritual realm and breadth of vision of a communist.

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## UPHOLD COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP, OPPOSE THE PATRIARCHAL WORKSTYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 6-10

[Article by Song Pai [1345 2672]]

[Text] Upholding collective leadership and opposing the patriarchal workstyle is very important in inner-party political life. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" has stipulated: "Within the party committees, the principle that the minority is subordinated to the majority must be strictly observed in deciding issues. The relationship between the secretary and the members of the party committee is not one between superior and inferior; the secretary is on equal footing with other members of the party committee. The secretary or the first secretary should be good at synthesizing the committee members' opinions and is not allowed to make a habit of 'what I say goes' or behave in a patriarchal manner." However, for many years a patriarchal workstyle has actually existed to varying degrees and has exerted a very bad influence on inner-party political life and also had serious repercussions on the political life of the nation.

The patriarchal system was the product of the small producers economy. The economy of feudal society was a scattered and individual agricultural economy comprising the family or household as a production unit. Apart from paying rent to the landlord, it also had to have a responsible member, a head of the family or patriarch. In the household the patriarch was the master, and all the land and food grain was controlled by him. The patriarch had the right to deal with the wealth and property of the household. His words carried great weight in the household, and all the other family members had to obey him. The feudal patriarchal system was suited to the small producers economy, and it became the basis of feudal rule. To consolidate the feudal system, feudal rulers placed special emphasis on loyalty and filial piety, or loyalty to the emperor and filial piety toward one's parents. In feudal society "the state had its own law" and "the family had its own domestic discipline." People who violated "state law" were punished by the ruling class, and family members who violated "family discipline" were punished by the patriarch. Feudal emperors believed that they "received their mandate from heaven" and were "an integral part of the state." They were actually the big patriarchs of the nation. Officers of various classes appointed by the emperor became "paternalistic officials" of the people and were actually patriarchs at various levels. It was because of the important role played by the patriarchal system in consolidating feudal rule that all feudal rulers of the past strengthened the feudal patriarchal system.

As a result of the long history of feudal rule in China, feudal ideas permeated all sectors of society, and our party was also affected by the feudal patriarchal system. In the nearly 60 years since the founding of our party there have been two periods when the patriarchal workstyle was particularly serious. One was the decade or so before the Zunyi Conference, and the other was the 10 years of catastrophe during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Of the two, the latter was the more serious.

After the founding of our party, Chen Duxiu was elected secretary general. Most of the cadres in the party were his students and juniors, and party cadres generally addressed him as "old man" out of respect. Chen considered himself to be the patriarch, and there was a total lack of democracy. His words were final in the party, and there was no collective leadership to speak of. The "Letter From the Central Committee to All Party Members on the 'August 7' Meeting" correctly pointed out: "It was nothing other than a patriarchal social system within the party. All decisions had to come from the leader in the upper levels of the party. Moreover, not only did the view of the 'chief' have to be obeyed, but it always had to be regarded as indisputable and in any case always correct. Under this kind of implementation, the democratic rights of the party became a completely meaningless phrase." Comrade Cai Hesen in "History of Opportunism in the Party" pointed out that the mistake of the leadership organs of the party at this time was that "the inner-party life of the masses had not yet fully developed. Not only were there no party discussions, but there were also no elections." "The relationship between the leadership organs and the masses became very unhealthy. Not only were there obstacles, but there was also incompatibility. The masses became completely divorced from the party, and the leadership organs of the party completely abandoned the masses. They practiced iron organization and discipline like princes in the privacy of their palaces without fear of interference. The more they did, the less they thought of the party, the masses and their work. Iron discipline became an instrument of torture for intimidating the party members, whereas the leading members at the higher level could enjoy all the freedom that transcended this iron organization and discipline." All this explains the seriousness of the patriarchal workstyle in the party at that time and the pernicious influence it created.

Wang Ming and Zhang Guotao also went in for the feudal patriarchal system. Zhang Guotao used to be Chen Duxiu's right-hand man. Later his personal ambition grew enormously, and he acted arbitrarily and behaved like a warlord and local despot in the area under his leadership. When Wang Ming usurped the leadership of the party Central Committee, there was no democracy to speak of. He adopted the method of "putting labels" on and "bludgeoning" comrades who expressed dissenting views in the party and even resorted to hostile means to carry out "brutal struggle" and "merciless attacks" against them. Wang Ming and Zhang Guotao were even more despicable than Chen Duxiu, for they adopted the erroneous policy of purging counterrevolutionaries, physically exterminating many fine comrades who raised dissenting views and creating greater losses to the party.

After the Zunyi Conference and especially after the Yanan rectification movement, we exposed and criticized the mistake of Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line, rectified the party's workstyle, promoted the unity of the whole party and laid the foundations for victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression

and the war of liberation. After the nationwide liberation our inner-party political life was normal. Because we upheld the development of democracy both inside and outside the party, various undertakings developed in a flourishing manner, and we scored great victories in economic rehabilitation and socialist transformation. However the leading members of our party became arrogant in the face of victory, were not as modest or prudent and did not pay as much attention to the principle of democratic centralism as before. In party discussions and decisions on major issues they often paid no attention to the development of democracy, did not listen to dissenting views and did not follow the principle of the minority submitting to the majority or decision by ballot, but let one man or a handful of people make the decision. Our party first made the mistake of magnifying the struggle against the rightists and again made the mistake in the Great Leap Forward of setting high targets, giving orders blindly, making inflated and exaggerated reports and achieving the transition to communism prematurely. However, our party not only failed to promptly sum up the experiences and lessons of these mistakes, but instead became more and more disinclined to listen to dissenting views. This again resulted in the criticism of a number of fine comrades who dared to submit written and verbal statements in the movement "against right opportunism." These were the circumstances under which, on the one hand, people like Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda publicized a personality cult, played the leader up as a genius, worshipped him as a deity and caused him to be further divorced from the masses, and, on the other hand, the development of a patriarchal workstyle stifled the democratic atmosphere both inside and outside the party, causing the situation of ten thousand horses standing mute to appear. In view of the lessons learned from political movements in the past, many comrades, out of fear, kept out. The patriarchal workstyle could be said to have reached its peak during the "Great Cultural Revolution." The leader was pushed to the most exalted position of a deity, and the personality cult completely dominated the minds of the people. This abnormal condition in the party was again utilized by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques to create 10 years of catastrophe. Relying on the power of a single individual, they usurped the supreme power of the party and the state, notified all party organs to suspend their activities and brought the whole party apparatus to a standstill. High-ranking party cadres, including the chairman of the country and a marshal of the armed forces, were dismissed and disposed of at will. "Down with everything" and "all-out civil war" developed throughout the country. Evil-doers were in power, good people suffered and thousands of innocent families were implicated. The above-mentioned phenomenon was in complete violation of the principles of Marxism and the organizational principles of the party, and it disrupted the style of the party's internal and external relations and brought great misfortune upon the people of the whole country.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and particularly after the 3d, 4th and 5th plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee, a correct political line has been formulated, and the fine tradition and workstyle of the party have been carried forward. Recently the Central Committee again issued a resolution on "giving less publicity to the individual." This will play a very important role in correcting the personality cult and combating the patriarchal workstyle. However, the pernicious influence of the feudal patriarchal system still exists in varying degrees among the leadership cadres at various levels, and there still are advocates of the patriarchal system in many localities and units.

These people take no notice of party organization and the collective system and take even less notice of the masses. They regard themselves as heroes who have conquered the country and who have accomplished all manner of meritorious services and are a cut above other people. The main manifestations of these people in leadership work are:

1. They place themselves above the collective and organization and practice "what I say goes." The party committees in some localities and units are like empty shells, and the final verdict on matters, whether large or small, must come from the secretary. The collective decision of the party committee can be overruled at will by the secretary. Things collectively decided by the party committee must still be approved by the secretary before they can be carried out. Some of the leadership cadres have unlimited power, and they completely change the collective leadership of the party into individual leadership. It is no longer a case of the minority submitting to the majority but of the majority submitting to the individual. However, this individual is often divorced from the masses and from reality, yet he still decides on important issues and gives orders as usual. As a result, the greater his authority, the greater will be the damage to the party.

2. They build up their own influence and form their own small circles. For the sake of making arbitrary decisions, some leadership cadres use their personal likes and dislikes as the basis for the employment and promotion of cadres and try in every possible way to gather around themselves their own former subordinates and cronies, form their own leading body and set up their own miniature court. Some go in for family ties and connections, so that "when a man gets to the top, all his friends and relations get there with him." Wives and children, aunts and sisters-in-law are allowed to join the party or hold office regardless of their talent or moral character. In some places there is even a party committee within the party committee and a standing committee within the standing committee, and mutual relations between members of the party committee become the relations of factions.

3. They attach paramount importance to personal dignity and refuse to heed opposing views. Some leadership cadres insist on absolute obedience and cannot tolerate any difference of opinion. They punish anyone who causes them the slightest displeasure, look for an excuse to make them targets of public criticism or secretly make things difficult for them when there is an opportunity. Consequently, the mutual relationship between the upper level and lower level and between the secretary and the committee members becomes that of a cat and mouse or that between a king and his ministers or between father and son.

The feudal patriarchal workstyle is incompatible with the character of our party and state. It is the antithesis of collective leadership and democratic centralism and must be resolutely overcome. Our party is the vanguard of the proletariat and a unified combat collective organized on the basis of democratic centralism. This determines that our party is not a feudal kingdom and cannot allow the feudal patriarchal system to have legal standing in our party. The political power of our country is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the system of government of our country is democratic centralism. Socialist democracy is the intrinsic quality of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and political power of



the dictatorship of the proletariat is to provide the greatest democracy for the people. This is why we cannot have the patriarchal system and one man alone having the say in the political life of our country. In our country, leadership cadres and ordinary cadres alike carry out specific work, and the mutual relationship between them is one of comradely equality. There should be no distinctions as to high or low rank, and everyone should enjoy all the privileges he is entitled to and perform all his designated obligations on an equal basis. The reason the feudal patriarchal system is incompatible with the character of our party and state is that it destroys democratic life both inside and outside the party.

The feudal patriarchal workstyle also basically transposes the relationship between cadres and the masses. Our party cadres, including the leadership cadres, are public servants and service personnel of the people and not overlords of a feudal society "riding herd over the people" for the emperor or patriarchs of the people. Who gives us our authority? It is not hereditary or self-attained, neither is it given by the leadership organs at the upper level but is given by the people. Our authority is derived from the trust and mandate of the people. Basically speaking, even the leadership cadres of higher leadership organs exercise authority bestowed upon them by the people. Without the support of the people, we can do nothing. Therefore, not only must we be responsible to the higher leadership organs, but we must also be responsible to the people. We must serve the people wholeheartedly and, in the manner of "head lowered, like a willing ox I serve the children," do things for the people and work for their interests. We must work like "beasts of burden" for the people and must not in the manner of the feudal society treat the people like "beasts of burden." We must do our work well, for this is our duty. If not, we can be criticized and even dismissed by the people. Losses due to dereliction of duty must also be punished by law. This is the right of the people. Engels in his introduction to "The Civil War in France" brought up the question of how to prevent the transformation of servants of society into masters of society and spoke highly of the principle and measures adopted by the Paris Commune. Today we must also implement this principle and these measures.

It has been a long time since we overthrew the reactionary rule and land ownership system of feudalism. Why does the feudal patriarchal system continue to exist and proliferate within our party?

First, when our party was founded in China, a large number of small producers joined the ranks of the party. Our country does not have a bourgeois democratic tradition, but instead has inherited a great many feudal vestiges. China was formerly "a country in which small-scale production and the patriarchal system prevail" ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War"), and "the evil feudal practice of arbitrary dictation is deeply rooted in the minds of the people and even the ordinary party members." ("The Struggle in Jinggangshan") Also, our party leaders have not descended from heaven but have grown up in the semifeudal and semicolonial society and are affected to varying degrees by feudal ideas. In addition, due to a lack of understanding, our party has done very little regarding the elimination of the feudal ideological influence. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the patriarchal clan system, class system and desire for privileges still exist in varying degrees in the political life of our party.

Second, our party was founded in secrecy and for a long time carried out work under urban white terror and rural guerrilla warfare conditions. The bases were scattered and in a state of siege, and each area had to fight independently. Under these circumstances, some leading members regarded the areas and departments under their leadership as their own independent kingdom, personally took credit for the victory of the party organization and the masses, and also placed more emphasis on centralization and less on developing democracy, more on issuing individual orders and less on taking a consensus of the views of the masses. This kind of influence has been comparatively thoroughgoing and is detrimental to some of our comrades' efforts to combat the patriarchal workstyle.

Furthermore, influenced by the tradition of the Comintern period when the leader of the party's work in every country enjoyed highly concentrated power, we have for a long time exaggerated the role of the individual and thought that leadership is not a collective body but an individual. This individual is again regarded as a genius who has a keen insight into matters and who is omnipotent. This concentration of power in an individual in fact constitutes a system of lifetime tenure for the leader. When this leader goes, another must be produced to continue this kind of lifetime tenure system. This runs counter to the basic tenets of historical materialism and propagates a personality cult. Stalin elevated the personality cult to a new high, but we went even further than Stalin during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Propagation of the personality cult has further fostered the patriarchal system.

However, some people think that opposing the feudal patriarchal system will affect party leadership. This misgiving is completely unfounded.

"Don't we want to centralize power on major issues?" When he discussed strengthening the leadership of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Centralize power on major issues, decentralize power on minor issues." However, it is very difficult in practice to distinguish between what calls for centralized power and what calls for decentralized power. Invariably there is no distinction between party and government administration, and everything is run by the party committee. Some comrades have transformed "centralize power on major issues" into "personal dictate" and "monopoly of power." Power is firmly controlled by an individual, and even the party organization becomes an instrument at his beck and call. This kind of "centralization of power on major issues" will certainly create a feudal patriarchal system and bureaucracy and damage collective leadership, the democratic life of the party and the cause of the party and people.

"Don't we want the secretary to be a good squad leader?" Comrade Mao Zedong in "Work Methods for Party Committees" pointed out: "The secretary of a party committee must be good at being a 'squad leader.'" However, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "Here we speak only by way of analogy." He also emphasized: "The relation between the secretary and the committee members is one in which the minority must obey the majority, so it is different from the relation between a squad leader and his men." Some of the comrades have forgotten this "difference" and changed the relation between the secretary and the committee members into one between the leader and those who are led and between the commander and those who carry out orders. In this way, the "squad leader" actually becomes a "patriarch."

"Don't we want the secretary in command?" This slogan of "the secretary in command" is applicable only in the sense of the secretary of the party committee assuming responsibility for certain work in the division of labor, but it is actually impracticable for the secretary to be in command of all the work. Moreover, the emphasis on command will often encourage one man to have the final say. According to the principle of democratic centralism, party committees at all levels must implement the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility. Important issues must be subject to collective discussion and decisionmaking, and we cannot allow one man to have the final say. In making decisions, the minority must obey the majority, and each secretary should have only one vote. Things decided collectively should be diversely carried out in accordance with the different spheres of responsibility. Once a collective decision has been reached, any committee member, even if he is the first secretary, may change or maintain his view, but he must still resolutely implement the collective decision. The first secretary only assumes primary responsibility in routine work and has no special privilege overriding the committee members. The present reference to the leading functionaries holding positions of primary and secondary responsibility could easily cause some comrades in the party to envisage the seating arrangement of the feudal trade associations. It gives the impression that the leading functionaries holding positions of primary and secondary responsibility are in a higher position than the other party committee members. The formation of this unequal relation is not in keeping with the organizational principle of the party committee. It will affect the implementation of democratic centralism and must therefore be abolished.

In short, we must see that the influence of the feudal patriarchal system is indeed deep-rooted and that a rather protracted struggle is required to eliminate this malady. However, through the effort of the whole party, we will certainly be able to eliminate the influence of feudal ideas, eradicate the influence of the feudal patriarchal system, carry out party building properly and better fulfill the task of our modernization program.

CSO: 4004



## LEARN FROM LENIN'S DEMOCRATIC WORKSTYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 11-16

[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] Lenin's theory on proletarian democracy is an important component of Leninism. Lenin himself was an outstanding model in the practice of proletarian democracy. His democratic workstyle was a fine example among the leaders of the international communist movement and was comparable to that of Marx and Engels. Lenin once said: "Among the people we are, after all, but a drop in the ocean, and we can administer only when we properly express what the people are conscious of." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, pp 269-270) This brilliant idea not only permeates the Leninist theory of democracy but also shone in his revolutionary practice throughout his life.

### I

In inner-party political life, Lenin always acted like an ordinary party member. Lenin abhorred all kinds of eulogies which tended to put him against the party organization or set him above the party organization and the broad masses of party members.

On 31 July 1920 the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) passed a resolution which was personally drafted by Lenin. The resolution said: "The Politburo of the Central Committee holds that the two articles written by Gorkiy in COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL No 12, particularly the editorial, were most inappropriate. They were inappropriate because these articles not only lack a communist theme but, on the contrary, contained many anticommunist elements. From now on these kinds of articles must absolutely not be allowed to appear in COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Fifth Edition, Vol 54, p 429) The "anticommunist elements" referred to in the resolution pertained to Gorkiy's article's exaggeration of Lenin's role in the Russian revolution and failure to mention the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in the revolution. Gorkiy's article greatly exalted the idea of the personality cult in its unique and refined style. Although the articles were filled with Gorkiy's sincere love and respect for Lenin, they ran counter to Marxism and the principles of inner-party democratic life formulated by Lenin. Therefore, they were sharply criticized by Lenin. After that issue of COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL was published, Lenin requested that the magazine be withdrawn from circulation. A long time after this incident,

Lenin still talked about this matter. At the meeting in honor of Lenin's 50th birthday held by the ninth party congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Moscow city party committee, the principled stand Lenin took regarding the praises people lavished on him is also well known. Although Lenin's contributions were greater than all others in the history of the Russian proletarian revolution, Lenin's great vigilance and prohibition prevented the emergence of the phenomenon of a personality cult during his lifetime.

During Lenin's time the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet regime faced many stiff tests. During those grave moments, Lenin's thoughts, will and strategy often guided the party in times of confusion, hardship and darkness to find the correct program of action and the road to victory. It can be said that on those questions of principle which had a bearing on the fate of the revolution Lenin made some mistakes. However, Lenin never used his prestige and position to impose his personal opinion on the whole party. Lenin strictly abided by the principle of collective leadership. He always acted as an ordinary party member and tried to influence the comrades around him and the leading organs of the party with the force of truth so that the party would make the right decisions.

In September 1917, in order to urge the Bolsheviks to seize the opportunity to make the decision to stage armed insurrection, Lenin wrote two letters to the Central Committee entitled "The Bolsheviks Must Seize Political Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection." At the meeting of the Central Committee held on 15 September, Lenin's letters were not given adequate attention. The meeting decided to postpone discussion of Lenin's letters, that is to say, postpone discussion of the question of armed insurrection. Lenin then repeatedly presented his views in the publications of the party, clearly pointing out the urgency of an immediate armed insurrection and the grave consequences of a postponement of insurrection, which might entail the total failure of the revolution, in order to make the cadres and members of the Bolshevik Party see the prevailing situation. At the subsequent meeting of the Central Committee on 10 October, Lenin's motion on staging an immediate armed insurrection was finally passed by a vote of 10 to 2. Such was Lenin's style: While insisting on principle, he respected the decision of the majority in the collective leadership. He actively worked to enable his comrades to fully grasp his opinion in order to form a new majority.

On the question of the signing of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Lenin again demonstrated his democratic style. When a majority of the comrades in the party Central Committee rejected Lenin's correct opinion on immediately signing the peace treaty, Lenin abided by the decision of the majority and upheld the party's principle of democratic centralism. At the same time, he exerted great efforts to minimize the losses suffered by the revolution due to the party's refusal to sign the peace treaty. Due to Lenin's efforts, the Central Committee made a decision to prolong the peace negotiations as much as possible and to avoid a breakdown in the negotiations. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets also passed a resolution giving the Soviet Government full power to resolve the problem of war and peace. These two decisions were helpful in preventing the peace negotiations from being sabotaged and in preventing Trotsky and others from taking adventurist action. On 18 February 1918 the German forces staged an all-out offensive in their attempt to overthrow the Soviet regime. On 21 February Lenin drafted an open letter to the people entitled "The Socialist

Fatherland Is in Danger." This was promulgated as an official call by the Council of People's Commissars. Thousands upon thousands of people responded to the call of the party and the Soviet Government and surged to the frontline of the battlefield. At the same time, Lenin exerted all possible efforts to persuade the party Central Committee to immediately make a decision to sign the peace treaty. Finally, the party Central Committee accepted Lenin's correct proposal.

Lenin maintained this democratic style until his last years. On 6 October 1922 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party passed a resolution on the monopoly system of foreign trade. Lenin considered the monopoly on foreign trade one of the economic lifelines of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, this resolution actually undermined the monopoly on foreign trade. At that time Lenin was very ill and was unable to participate in this plenary meeting. When he later learned what had happened, he wrote a letter to Stalin on 13 October expressing his dissenting opinion about this Central Committee resolution. However, Lenin did not ask the Central Committee to immediately rescind this resolution according to his own completely correct opinion. He suggested that "this problem be reconsidered and restudied" and that the solution of this problem "be postponed for 2 months or to the next session. During this period, comprehensive and verified documents on our trade policy and experience could be gathered." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 339) The reason why Lenin did this was precisely that the resolution was passed by a majority of the Central Committee, and he himself still had to do some in-depth study. Therefore, the solution to this problem had to be discussed by the plenary session of the Central Committee and not decided by any one individual. The Central Committee agreed with Lenin's suggestion.

In order to conduct new discussions, Lenin collected materials on various aspects and exchanged views and talked with comrades who were familiar with foreign trade work. On 18 December the Central Committee held another plenary session. At this meeting Lenin published a long letter, again stating in detail his views on maintaining the monopoly on foreign trade. After discussion, the plenary session passed a resolution on maintaining the monopoly on foreign trade, overruling the erroneous resolution passed in the preceding session.

Lenin not only persisted in his democratic style on important matters of principle, but also paid great attention to avoid placing himself above the collective leadership and carrying on the system of "only one person has the say" in handling daily affairs. After the October Revolution the Council of Peasants and Workers Defense set up a working organ to take charge of everyday affairs in order to help the work of the council. Lenin took charge of that organ. Decisions made by this working organ had to be approved by the Council of Peasants and Workers Defense or the Council of People's Commissars. When Lenin made approvals on behalf of these two organs, he always insisted on asking for the concurrence of all the members of these two bodies. In the process of discussion, when there were dissenting opinions, Lenin would not even sign resolutions which he had been able to pass in the working organ's meetings as long as unanimous opinion had not been reached. The great atmosphere of democracy in the Bolshevik Party established during Lenin's time began precisely with these questions of procedure. These procedures directly served the purpose of

institutionalizing democratic life in the party. With the institutionalization of inner-party democratic life, correct conclusions on important matters of principle were then possible through thoroughgoing comradely discussions. With Lenin's leadership by example, proletarian democracy was not confined to the works of the theoreticians and the slogans put forth by the leaders but was implemented in the work of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). Lenin's democratic workstyle was the most important guarantee for bringing collective wisdom into full play.

Lenin was a man, not a god. During the long years of revolutionary struggle he also committed some errors. When he discovered that he had made a mistake, he was always courageous enough to admit and immediately correct it. Comrade Stalin mentioned these two instances: In December 1905, during the All-Russian Congress of Bolsheviks held in Finland, Lenin opposed the boycott of the state Duma. For a time Lenin wanted to use the first state Duma, yet this state Duma was the product of an evil scheme of the Tsarist government. In the committee responsible for drafting the resolution on the stand to take toward the state Duma, of which Lenin was a member, most deputies were in favor of firmly boycotting the Duma. They explained their views on the state Duma. In the end, Lenin admitted his mistake. The congress made a decision on boycotting the Duma. On the eve of the October Revolution in 1917, while discussing the question of the Democratic Conference, Lenin disapproved of the Petrograd council's refusal to dissolve the Democratic Conference and suggested the arrest of its members. Practice showed that Lenin's view was wrong and that the decision not to act according to Lenin's suggestion at that time was correct. After this incident, when Lenin learned about this point, he immediately admitted his mistake.

## II

Lenin was not only the leader of the Bolshevik Party but also the leader of the Soviet state. However, in the eyes of the broad masses of cadres and people, Lenin was only a great public servant. Lenin paid great attention to maintaining close contacts with the broad masses of cadres and people. He took care to treat each comrade as an equal—whether they were leading cadres of the party and the state or ordinary people.

Comrade Stalin pointed out: "The vision of a genius, the ability to quickly grasp and see through the inner meaning of events that were about to unfold—this was Lenin's unique quality. This quality enabled him to formulate correct strategies and clear lines of action at turning points of the revolutionary movement." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 1, p 183) The reason why Lenin possessed such an outstanding ability was that he skillfully used Marxist truths in his observations and analyses of the actual practice of the Russian Revolution on the one hand, while on the other he was able to maintain very close ties with the broad masses of cadres and people and heed their views. This enabled him to keep in close touch with the real situation in Russian society. The incident wherein Lenin insisted on the monopoly on foreign trade mentioned above was one example. Even though Lenin was very ill when he was dealing with this matter, he still tried to gather the views of comrades from different sectors by writing letters, collecting materials and organizing specialized committees to examine the materials and verify the conclusions. He not only personally talked with



comrades familiar with this aspect, but also mailed materials on this question to many comrades requesting their views. His long letter to the Central Committee was composed only after many comrades had studied and discussed the problem.

In order to maintain close contacts with the broad masses of cadres, Lenin personally instructed that the security system in the Kremlin palace be reformed. During the early period of the Soviet regime, visitors had to go through several checkpoints. They could be detained for very minor reasons. On this question, Lenin wrote several instructions to the chief of housing management of the Kremlin to warn him and express his strong dissatisfaction with his security system, which obstructed his contacts with the cadres. In his note to the head of the security force of the Kremlin on 26 November 1921, Lenin wrote: "I have discovered once again that people who came to see me were stopped by the security guards... Now, let me ask you again to set up a system in which people who come to see me, even those without any kind of pass, may freely call up my secretary and the telephone operator on the third floor exchange from the gate of the Kremlin and the main entrance of the Council of People's Commissars. I am warning you because you have been taking my requests lightly." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Fifth Edition, Vol 54, pp 35-36)

Lenin attached great importance to all letters addressed to him personally or to the Council of People's Commissars, especially letters of complaint. Lenin personally issued instructions to the chief of the office of general affairs of the Council of People's Commissars to report to him within 24 hours any written complaints and to report to him within 48 hours all oral complaints. As to the results on handling these complaints, he also demanded that strict supervision be enforced. Under Lenin's instruction, the Kremlin opened a reception office of the Council of People's Commissars. Comrades working in the reception office had to report on the general situation of work in the office to Lenin every 2 weeks. The system of receiving the masses in Soviet Government organs was thus established under the personal instruction and due to the concern of Lenin.

From October to December 1922, after his wounds had healed, Lenin returned to the Kremlin to work for 2 months. During these 2 months there was not a single day that Lenin did not receive cadres and ordinary people who came to visit him. Sometimes he received as many as 10 or more a day. Even as late as 2 months before he died he was still receiving ordinary workers. His meetings with workers gave him great pleasure during his illness--comrades received by Lenin were also greatly inspired by Lenin's warm concern about them. He showed sincere concern for the ordinary workers and cadres. This was Lenin's very outstanding characteristic.

He treated ordinary working people in the following manner: One time Lenin received a peasant. In the course of the conversation he learned that the peasant's glasses had been damaged. He immediately wrote a short note to the people's commissar for health at that time: "Comrade (Ivan Afanasiyevich Chekunov) is here with me. He is a charming peasant. He propagandizes the principles of communism in his own way. He lost his glasses and spent 15,000 rubles and got a pair of rotten glasses. Is there any way to help him get a pair of good ones? Please help him and have your secretary inform me whether this has been done." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Fifth Edition, Vol 52, pp 83-84)

He treated children in the following manner: In the autumn of 1921 Lenin walked past the gate of a school near the Kremlin palace. He saw children playing with a "football"—made from rags tied with a string. Lenin thought that was interesting, so he started a conversation with the children. The children were complaining that they could not buy a football. Lenin seriously listened to what the children had to say. Although it was difficult to solve the children's problem at that time, the children received a gift from Lenin a few days later—a real football.

He treated cadres in the following manner: Among the collected works of Lenin, short notes similar to the following are frequently found: Comrade so-and-so, please arrange for a rest house near Moscow for comrade so-and-so; comrade so-and-so, your attitude toward "state property" (meaning, the health of cadres) has become obnoxious; Comrade so-and-so lives very far away and has to walk to and from work. We must take care of her.... On 21 May 1922 Lenin wrote the following note to Stalin: Please transmit the following request of mine to the Secretariat of the Central Committee for approval: Allow expert surgeon (F. N. Rozanov) and his son to go to Riga for a vacation in July.

He showed particular concern for comrades-in-arms who had fought at his side. In 1921 Stalin was recuperating in the city of Nalcik in Georgia. Later Stalin cut short his recuperation to participate in the plenary session of the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Lenin personally instructed that a quiet quarter be prepared for Stalin in the Kremlin. Lenin's close comrade-in-arms Sverdlov died of a viral flu. At that time this contagious disease had already claimed many lives. However, during Sverdlov's final moments Lenin took the risk of contracting the disease and, ignoring the warnings of the doctors, went to Sverdlov's room. He stayed for 15 minutes at his bedside. Lenin was such a person. He showed more concern and love for his comrades than for himself. Anyone who had been the subject of Lenin's warm concern would forever cherish his great image--the image of a people's servant.

### III

The October Socialist Revolution was a great, epochmaking event in human history. In this mass-scale, complex and intense class battle, which was unprecedented in history, clashes between different ideologies and political thoughts often appeared in the Bolshevik Party. As the leader of the party, Lenin fully carried out democracy in resolving these contradictions. He embodied both the uncompromising party spirit of a great Marxist and the breadth of vision of a proletarian statesman. In his attitude toward comrades who had committed mistakes, this quality was most outstanding. Lenin had always united with and kept close ties with comrades who had committed political errors but had corrected their errors in subsequent revolutionary practice. Lenin's attitude toward comrades who participated in the "God-seekers" group was a touching example.

The year 1905 was a time of political difficulty for the Bolshevik Party. Some intellectuals in the party wavered in their political convictions; they took the opportunist line. Ideologically and philosophically, they presented varied anti-Marxist views. The "God-seekers" was a small group of intellectuals led by Bogdanov who insisted on anti-Marxist viewpoints. The "God-seekers" wanted to

integrate Marxism and religion. Lunacharskiy even held that "socialism is a religion" and is the highest form of religion of the future. The words and deeds of the "God-seekers" directly undermined the guiding role of Marxist theory in the proletarian revolutionary movement. Lenin waged a polemical debate with them on this point and safeguarded the purity of Marxism. Later, Lunacharskiy, who had been a leading member of the "God-seekers," abandoned his erroneous political platform and ideological viewpoints. Lenin still had high regard for him. Lenin had always highly respected Lunacharskiy's talents. He regarded him as an unusually brilliant person and a good comrade. Lenin was filled with joy when Lunacharskiy returned to the stand of the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution, Lunacharskiy became the first people's commissar for education and remained such until 1929. During his term of office Lunacharskiy became a brilliant literary theoretician and made outstanding contributions to the propaganda of Marxist literary theory. Gorkiy also had connection with the "God-seekers" for a time. Lenin was very concerned about him politically. On questions of principle, he always clearly presented his views to Gorkiy and criticized Gorkiy's incorrect views to help him stand on the side of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin's attitude toward some comrades who participated in the activities of the "left communists" was also a good example. In early 1918 Lenin was in the minority in the party on the question of the signing of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Opposition to Lenin's correct proposal came mainly from the "left communists" in the party. They were opposed to signing a peace treaty. The Moscow party committee went so far as to pass a motion stating that, "due to distrust in the political line and in members of the Central Committee," it did not trust the Central Committee. Due to the erroneous stand taken by the "left communists" on the question of the treaty, the Bolshevik Party was faced with a great danger. After intense struggle, Lenin's correct line was finally confirmed by the whole party during its emergency seventh party congress. Dzerzhinskiy and Uritskiy subsequently returned to the camp of Lenin's correct line. During the seventh party congress Dzerzhinskiy was elected one of the 10 members of the Central Committee. Uritskiy was also elected an alternate member of the Central Committee. Other comrades who had opposed Lenin or committed political errors continued to remain in leadership posts. Even Bukharin remained a member of the Central Committee of the seventh party congress, and Lomov, one of the leaders who organized the Moscow party committee's opposition to the Central Committee, was later elected a member of the Central Committee.

Lenin's democratic workstyle was characterized by great tolerance. His tolerance extended to people who had taken a political stand against the Bolsheviks but not engaged in activities against the Soviet regime after the October Revolution. Lenin insisted on looking at people from the perspective of an entire historical process. Such was his attitude toward Plekhanov. Plekhanov belonged to the first generation of Russian Marxists. After 1903 he gradually took an anti-Bolshevik political stand and joined the camp of the Mensheviks. However, in his early political activities he had made great contributions to the Russian Revolution. His theoretical works elaborating on Marxism had nurtured a whole generation of Russian Marxists. After Plekhanov died, Lenin personally approved the holding of his funeral and proposed the publication of his philosophical writings. Lenin's assessment of Plekhanov's works was as follows: "Without studying--precisely studying--all the philosophical works by Plekhanov, one cannot become



a conscious and true communist, because his works constitute some of the most outstanding works in the entire collection of writings in international Marxism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 453) After Plekhanov parted ways with Lenin politically, he also wrote a series of theoretical works. Lenin still gave these works favorable evaluation, saying that they made splendid elaborations on Marxist philosophy. Semashko, the people's commissar for health after the October Revolution, was Plekhanov's nephew. For a time he often went to visit Plekhanov. Each time he came back from a visit to Plekhanov's place, Lenin, out of concern for Plekhanov, would ask in detail what Plekhanov had said, how his health was and other questions. Martov and Axelrod retired from political life after the October Revolution. Lenin still wanted to see them before he died. He also asked other comrades to inquire about their living conditions.

When talking about the future leaders of the party, Lenin criticized Stalin for being "too rude." He pointed out that as the party's general secretary he ought to be "more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc." He held that "this is a trifle that may acquire a decisive significance." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, p 618) This opinion was consistent with Lenin's democratic style throughout his lifetime. Lenin consistently adopted this attitude toward his comrades, including those comrades who had committed grave mistakes. Due to the fact that Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, carried out a highly democratic workstyle, struggle within the Bolshevik Party was conducted in a democratic atmosphere, and the party was unprecedentedly united and strong. Later, Stalin committed errors during the purges, and this resulted in a long period of abnormal democratic life in the party. One important reason for this was that Stalin deviated from the principles of inner-party democratic life formulated by Lenin. We can also learn a lesson from this. The democratic style of a leading cadre of the party, particularly the leader, as an individual greatly influences the strength and vitality of inner-party democratic life. On the other hand, the establishment of a democratic workstyle in the leaders also depends on the institutionalization of inner-party democratic life, for instance, on the full functioning of the party's supervisory organs. Lenin realized and stressed this during his last years.

The reason Lenin was able to achieve such a democratic workstyle was that he had a deep understanding of history. Lenin had said that the wisdom of thousands upon thousands of creators will create a much greater thing than the vision of the greatest genius. Lenin looked at his relationship with the party and all the working people from the level of historical materialism. Only from this level can one explain: Why was Lenin on guard against eulogies which placed him above the party at all times; how was Lenin able to maintain flesh-and-blood ties with his comrades and the masses; why was Lenin consistently against equating himself with the entire cause of the proletarian revolution; how was Lenin always able to uphold principles while at the same time paying attention to uniting with comrades in the struggles and to oppose the tendency to brand all normal differences of opinion in the course of work as "antiparty" or "counterrevolutionary"? These should all serve as food for thought for us.

It is far from possible to make a comprehensive exposition of Lenin's democratic workstyle in one article. Conducting studies on Lenin's revolutionary practice and studies on his theoretical writings are both important tasks for our theoretical workers. The common goal of these two undertakings is—to enable us to learn lessons from Lenin as a great example and to insure that our party and inner-party democratic life will forever advance on the correct road.

**BRAVELY FIGHT FOR A LOVELY CHINA--ON READING COMRADE FANG ZHIMIN'S 'LOVELY CHINA'**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 5, 17-21

[Article by Fang Zhichun [2455 1807 4783]]

[Text] In the spring of 1923 Comrade Fang Zhimin boarded a foreign liner departing Shanghai for Jiangxi. The steamer went upstream, cleaving the waves. Fang Zhimin, a young communist, stood at the bow in a heroic posture, feeling an upsurge of emotion. All of a sudden, shouts and screams emanated from the cargo hold. As he approached the place he saw six or seven hatchetmen, incited by a foreigner, trussing up, beating and insulting three Chinese who could not afford to buy tickets. Seeing this, Fang Zhimin was too angry to control himself. "Fight!" he shouted at the passengers who gathered around, and he rushed at the hatchetmen. However, instead of hitting them he was beaten up. He used to tell me this story at home and said indignantly, "Every man has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country. Our motherland is now at stake. How can we sit still waiting for death!" In 1935, 12 years after this event, when he was put in jail by the KMT reactionaries, Fang Zhimin called this tragedy to mind again and wrote "Lovely China," the immortal work in which he expressed his deep feelings and profound love for the motherland.

Whenever I read this book it reminds me of Fang Zhimin's lifelong devotion to the lovely China; whenever I close it I ponder about how we must fight today for the lovely China.

I

Fang Zhimin was a great communist fighter and an outstanding patriot. The formation and development of his patriotic thought followed a tortuous and complicated course.

At the very beginning Fang Zhimin did not know what imperialism was, nor did he understand how the imperialists had invaded China. Naturally, he knew nothing of patriotism. It was not until he entered the senior class of primary school in the county and enriched his knowledge that he gradually came to understand what patriotism was.

In 1918 a nationwide patriotic campaign was launched to resist Japanese imperialist aggression and its aggressive plan to further subjugate China. This campaign spread to Geyang and aroused Fang Zhimin's patriotism. He took the lead in

boycotting Japanese goods and organized patriotic youths to join in the demonstration. As our family was badly off, it was a heavy burden for us to send Zhimin to school and buy such daily necessities imported from abroad as a basin, toothbrush and toothpaste. Although Fang Zhimin realized that he could hardly afford to buy all these things again if they were destroyed, he did not hesitate to do so. In the view of Chinese youths today, such practices as destroying foreign products seem naive. At that time, however, it was an unusual action which should be extolled as patriotism.

As his horizons widened and he gained much more experience, Fang Zhimin noticed that China was flooded with foreign goods; foreigners rode roughshod over China's land; foreign vessels cruised on China's rivers and seas, and Chinese were treated like dogs in China's parks. From the reverse side, all this helped stimulate his patriotism. He often wondered whether Chinese really were inferior to others and ought to be bullied by foreigners. No, was his answer. He would never agree to accept!

Fang Zhimin was a man who took an active part in destroying foreign goods and frowned upon foreigners who bullied Chinese. Was he xenophobic? No, he was not. He said, "Of course we are not xenophobes. Quite a few foreigners are men of high learning and moral integrity. They are sympathetic to the national liberation movement in China and opposed to imperialist aggression and oppression. They are our friends. Only those who came to China to make their fortunes and seek ease and comfort and those missionaries who peddle spiritual opium are really detestable."

It was precisely because Fang Zhimin was not a man who was blindly opposed to everything foreign that he was so eager to learn the good things other countries had to offer. In order to learn a foreign language he went to study in an American missionary school in Jiujiang. The school was commodious and had wonderful surroundings, with the Changjiang behind and Gandang Lake in front. In addition, the school was segregated from the outside world by an enclosing wall and was like a small American society. Pupils learned and spoke English, professing Western religion and practicing Western etiquette. Under such living conditions it was easy to fall into a bad habit of worshiping and having blind faith in things foreign. Fang Zhimin, however, was a staunch patriot, and he was not affected by this small and isolated Westernized society. He did not believe in the Christian religion, nor did he flatter the foreigners. On the contrary, he organized a "non-Christian union." Of course, the school authorities could not put up with him, and some schoolmates gave him well-intentioned advice, saying, "How can we study at the missionary school without showing respect for the foreigners and professing religion? If all goes well, maybe the foreigners will help us go abroad to study."

However, Fang Zhimin did not accept this advice. He did not want to study abroad to enhance his social status. He had a deep love for his own mother--the motherland, from whom he would not depart. He said with great sorrow, "Mother, lovely mother, owing to the oppression and exploitation you suffer, you are in extreme poverty. You are so exhausted that you are turning pale and pallid and losing your beauty! Your son will not give you the cold shoulder." At that time, though China was poverty stricken and disaster ridden, Fang Zhimin still had a

profound love for his motherland. What he loved, of course, was not the decayed system but the people and the future of the country. He was convinced that China would have bright prospects which should be eulogized; the Chinese nation had great creative power, and, in the course of the battle, as soon as China managed to shake off the yoke of imperialism, eliminate the hidden traitors or collaborators and attain freedom and liberation, this creative power would be fully brought into play; then China would take on an entirely new look: there would be wonders and remarkable progress everywhere with each passing day; deep sorrow would be replaced by boundless joy, a long face by a smiling one, poverty and suffering by prosperity and happiness, ignorance by wisdom, hatred by love, the sorrow of death by the joy of life, and desolate wasteland by beautiful gardens!

Owing to his boundless loyalty to the motherland, Fang Zhimin could overcome obstruction and never wavered in the struggle. Jiang Kanghu, a member of the Chinese Socialist Party, was also born in Geyang. He expressed admiration for Fang Zhimin's talent. Once, when Jiang returned to his native place, he encouraged Fang Zhimin to go abroad for advanced studies, but Fang Zhimin firmly refused to accept his offer. The headmaster of the Jiujiang missionary school also appreciated Fang's success in his studies. Twice he wrote to Fang Zhimin, who had been expelled from school, saying that if he stopped his anti-Christian activities the school authorities would allow him to return to school and would even send him to the United States for advanced studies. However, Fang Zhimin turned down all the headmaster's suggestions. He loved his motherland so passionately that he gave a vivid description of his state of mind at that time: "The patriotic zeal of a young student is as pure and fascinating as the romantic feeling of a young girl's first love."

The revolutionary content of patriotism varies in different stages of development. In the days of Fang Zhimin it was manifested mainly as follows: fear no sacrifice and fight bravely to overthrow the rule of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism and establish a new regime in which the people become the real masters of the country. After the liberation China became a socialist country. We have entered a new historical period and are now building a modernized and powerful socialist country. The four modernizations have a direct bearing on the future of our country and the destiny of our nation. Today, therefore, what we mean by patriotism is to have a deep love for socialism, for the four modernizations of our motherland, and to devote ourselves to the realization of the four modernizations.

As there still are some defects in our socialist system, and as its superiority has not yet been brought into full play, in the view of some comrades the image of the socialist country is not so fine, and our motherland does not seem so lovely. Some even suspect the superiority of the socialist system. Such views are incorrect. Though there are some defects in our socialist system, after all, it is far superior to all exploiting systems. Though our motherland is still underdeveloped and faces many difficulties, it is the great mother that has fostered the Chinese nation. We should not merely dwell on the defects of the socialist system and fail to see the incomparable superiority of the system; we should not merely see the backwardness of our country today and lose sight of its bright future tomorrow. Now that we have a Marxist political line which is being carried out unswervingly and have developed a lively political situation



of stability and unity, the Chinese people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition of struggling hard amid difficulties, are going all out to accomplish the four modernizations, and our motherland is becoming more lovely and splendid. Therefore, we should wholeheartedly love our great mother--the lovely China.

## II

Fang Zhimin's loyalty to the motherland was not merely expressed in words but was fully proved in his actions. Once he said excitedly, "Unless you are a dying man or a coward who is willing to be enslaved by foreign powers, nobody can prevent you from standing up and fighting for the sake of your country, let alone a courageous and upright youth like me!" As an ardent and patriotic youth he was very anxious to save the country. He went on to say, "Saving China from danger and destruction and saving our dying mother from the imperialist devils' clutches is a task which brooks no delay." Nevertheless, how could China be saved? In order to seek the answer, Fang Zhimin experimented and explored exhaustively.

Fang Zhimin was born in the countryside and from his childhood lived in the company of poor peasants. He felt much aggrieved at witnessing that life was hell on earth for the vast number of peasants. He expressed admiration for heroes of the greenwood who fought against the rich and helped the poor and wished to learn from them, so that there would no longer be a wide gap between rich and poor in society. When he was young, Fang Zhimin took an active part in organizing patriotic youths to help the poor. Once he led a group of young people and fought fearlessly against Zhang Bagang, the richest man in his native place. However, his first trial ended in failure, for one of his followers was arrested by the county government concerned and had to be ransomed.

Fang Zhimin began to broaden his horizons after he went to study in town. He attributed the backwardness of China and ignorance of the people to the lack of education and illiteracy of the broad masses. Therefore, he was determined to run schools for the common people and tried to save the country by developing education. He applied for a certain amount of educational funds from the authorities concerned and ran the Xiguang evening school for common people. However, the school had to close down, for the northern warlords' authorities concerned did not allow it to popularize new culture. Fang Zhimin had failed again. All this made him realize the following truth: without political power the broad masses had neither money nor manpower; all the school could do was to inculcate its pupils with the ideology of the ruling class. The method of saving the country by developing education was merely an illusion.

His hope of saving the country by popularizing education had been shattered. Was it possible to save the country by developing industry? This was what he wanted to try. He thought that, since China was a backward agricultural country, developing industry was the only way to put an end to the poverty and backwardness of China. So he went to study at the provincial-level Nanchang engineering school and specialized in mechanical engineering. However, as he could not bear the sight of corruption and other scandals, he organized a student movement and was eventually expelled from the school. He failed to learn mechanical engineering, let alone save the country by developing industry.

His attempts had achieved nothing, and the road he had taken had led to a dead end. Fang Zhimin began to find himself in a tight corner. "How will the revolutionaries save the country? Wherein lies the future of our motherland?" He pondered deeply. However, he never lost heart. He used to quote some words from Qu Yuan, saying, "There is a long, long way to go. I will exhaust every possibility in my determination to find a way of saving the country."

A new exploration started. In 1922 Fang Zhimin received a copy of the XIANQU DAILY (an official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League) from a friend in Shanghai. He found the viewpoints of the paper correct and clearcut and determined to join the Youth League. Thereupon he went to Shanghai and got acquainted with Qu Qiubai, Zhang Tailei and other communists. Zhao Xingnong gave him an introduction to join the Youth League, and he became a member of the Chinese Communist Party the following year. Only by going through many difficulties and setbacks did he manage to discover the only feasible way of saving the country. Amid the clamor that "communism is out of keeping with China's conditions," Fang Zhimin declared with unbounded confidence: "The path of the Russians is the only way to save China!"

The path of the Russians refers to the path of the October Revolution. Fang Zhimin took this as the way to save China. However, how to follow the example of the Russians and put it into practice in northeastern Jiangxi, in all of Jiangxi Province and then in all of China was another matter altogether. There were no ready answers in the classics of Marxism and Leninism. Therefore, Fang Zhimin began to work out the solution through practice.

At the beginning of the revolution, Fang Zhimin tried to imitate what the Russians had done. In the fall of 1926 he led the party committee of northeastern Jiangxi in mobilizing some 20,000 members of the peasant association. Coordinated by military operations of the Northern Expeditionary Army, they succeeded in occupying the county seat of Geyang and establishing a revolutionary regime, the county government administration committee. But as soon as the Northern Expeditionary Army withdrew, the embryonic regime collapsed. As he could not hold his ground in the county town, he moved to the countryside and organized a rebellion in Qigongzheng. Though the rebellion was successful, owing to a shortage of arms and with only a handful of guns, the rebels were unable to resist the enemy's counterattack. Therefore, Fang Zhimin started setting up a communist armed force. Theoretically he knew the importance of armed forces, but in practice he had little knowledge of how to set up an armed force for the party. At the very beginning he tried to build ours by transforming the KMT army. When a company of KMT soldiers revolted in Geyang in 1927, he sent a number of communists to reorganize the troops. However, since the soldiers were a motley crew, they were soon defeated and dispersed. After that he again tried to build a people's armed force by infiltrating the enemy troops and inducing them to join us. Fang Zhimin held discussions with Hulin, an underground communist who was then commander of a guards regiment in Boyang County, and instigated rebellion among the enemy troops. However, his efforts were in vain. Through his bitter experiences, Fang Zhimin realized that it was too difficult to set up a revolutionary armed force by transforming the old army unless the party had its own armed forces and was powerful and strong.

Though he was distressed at his unsuccessful attempts, he never lost hope. He knew that to arouse the broad masses all over the country to take up arms and fight for national liberation and the overthrow of imperialist rule in China was the only way to save China and our mother. In the winter of 1927 Fang Zhimin organized the Geheng uprising in accordance with the instructions of the party Central Committee with regard to staging an autumn harvest rebellion. It was not until he took the path of seizing power by armed force and establishing revolutionary base areas in the countryside that he found the only correct way to save the country. Comrade Mao Zedong said later on, "The kind of policy adopted by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and also by Fang Zhimin is undoubtedly correct--that is, the policy of establishing base areas; of systematically setting up political power; of deepening the agrarian revolution; and of expanding the people's armed forces."

If he were a youth today, there would be no need for him to inquire as to how to save the country and make revolution. The party Central Committee has pointed the way for us. Today it is a fortunate and glorious task to be a revolutionary and a patriot. However, in the days of Fang Zhimin, when China was ruled by the northern warlords and Chiang Kai-shek, it was dangerous and criminal to engage in revolutionary and patriotic activities. As Fang Zhimin had resolved to fight for the liberation of the Chinese people, he did not give a thought to his personal safety. He said, "I am always ready to give my life to the cause of liberating the Chinese people." Whenever I read these words of Fang Zhimin, which were expressed from the bottom of his heart, I often think of the revolutionary martyrs who sacrificed themselves to save our motherland and how today, when we are devoting ourselves to the four modernizations of our country, there cannot be any personal interest that we will not sacrifice or any personal error that we will not discard.

### III

The process of revolution is tortuous and arduous. As soon as Fang Zhimin discovered the right way to rescue the country, he would never have taken the road back or wavered in the struggle. In spite of hardship and deprivation in the protracted struggle, he consistently forged ahead bravely, and especially when the revolution suffered setbacks he fully showed his unswerving loyalty to the great party and the great motherland.

After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, when conditions were very difficult, Fang Zhimin said firmly, "I pin my faith on Marxism and Leninism. Though the great revolution has ended in failure, I will never feel disheartened. This is just a transient phenomenon. The revival and new upsurge of the Chinese revolution is bound to come soon, and capitalism inevitably will meet its doom and be replaced by communism. Counterrevolution is bound to fail, and revolution is bound to triumph eventually. This is the absolute truth."

In 1928 the base areas in northeastern Jiangxi were in extreme difficulty. As they had been regularly subjected by the enemy to "encirclement and suppression," the people's armed forces were forced to withdraw to the mountainous areas and could only operate within a radius of less than 50 li of Mopan Mountain. The situation was critical, and life was very hard there. Fang Zhimin and his



comrades-in-arms would have been captured and killed if they had not maintained their guard against the enemy. Even under such circumstances, Fang Zhimin was still imbued with revolutionary optimism. He said, "We are firmly determined to fight through to the end for our ideals and the emancipation of the oppressed classes. Hard as the life is, we are very happy. The harder the conditions become, the more bravely we will fight; the more vigorously we struggle, the happier we feel!"

In 1934 the revolutionary force in the base areas of northeastern Jiangxi suffered a telling blow. In the movement to eliminate counterrevolutionaries, owing to the "left" opportunism of Wang Ming, the scope was wrongly widened, and thus false charges were brought against many revolutionary comrades. Because he protected a number of comrades, Fang Zhimin himself suffered injustice and erroneous treatment. Even under such adverse circumstances he never lost faith in the party, nor did he waver in the struggle for the emancipation of the motherland. He pointed out sharply that the root cause of the frameups and wrong charges resulted from the fact that the principal leader of the party sought autocratic rule and showed no respect for other comrades' advice. He said earnestly, "Self-criticism must be practiced to expose the errors committed in the movement to eliminate counterrevolutionaries, so that we can draw lessons." Though he was falsely charged, he still considered the interests of the party. Apparently, his boundless loyalty could hardly be expressed in words.

In January 1935, when he led the vanguard detachment in marching north to resist the Japanese invaders, it suffered heavy setbacks in southern Anhui, and Fang Zhimin was besieged by the enemy at Longshou Mountain near the borders of Jiangxi, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces. In such a hopeless situation he hid in the forest and felt as if a knife were piercing his heart. Several times he tried to kill himself with his gun, but he thought that a communist should not commit suicide. "Should I feel disheartened and give up the struggle in the face of difficulties?" he murmured. "No. I will go on fighting! If I manage to escape, I will wage a life-and-death struggle against the reactionaries. I am determined not to give up until they are overthrown!"

Though Fang Zhimin was thrown into prison after he was arrested, his will was as strong as iron. The KMT reactionaries could jail a patriotic fighter but could not destroy Fang Zhimin's strong determination to save the country; the enemy could eliminate the body of a fighter but failed to make him lose his faith in the revolution. Fang Zhimin said with pride, "The enemy can only chop off my head, but never can they make me break faith, because what we believe in is universal truth!" The KMT reactionaries used both hard and soft tactics and spared no efforts to induce him to capitulate. However, Fang Zhimin rebuffed them sternly: "A man is disgraced if he breaks or forsakes his political conviction, tears up his previous records of struggle, betrays the lovely China and brutally kills innocent workers and peasants." With great indignation, he went on to say, "All this can be done only by beasts—dogs, swine—or to be more exact, by those who are even more filthy and contemptible than such beasts!"

In June 1935 Fang Zhimin realized that the enemy would soon kill him. As far as his life was concerned, he was doomed. However, he still firmly believed in his political convictions and the way he had chosen for saving the country. On the

eve of his execution he behaved with perfect composure, demonstrating the moral integrity of a communist. He said with great emotion, "It is not unusual for a revolutionary to lay down his life. In the process of revolution there is nothing strange in a revolutionary's shedding his blood; and historically there has never been a revolution which occurred without bloodshed. I am really willing to shed the last drop of my blood for the party and the revolution." He told his fellow sufferers excitedly that before the fascist gang shot him or chopped off his head he would shout with great indignation: Long live the national liberation of the Chinese people!

Fang Zhimin died and laid down his life to save the motherland; Fang Zhimin shed the last drop of his blood and repaid his mother's milk with warm blood; and Fang Zhimin lost his life, but the path he took—the path of saving the country, of transforming China, and the path of socialism and communism—has not come to an end. We are now marching along the path of revolution which was blazed by revolutionary martyrs. At that time, to express love for the motherland and save the country, they plunged into the revolutionary war of emancipating the country, and today we should change the face of China by devoting ourselves to the realization of the four modernizations.

Just as in wartime, the socialist revolution and the building of socialism is never smooth sailing. There may be difficulties, setbacks and even retrogression. Over the past 30 years since liberation we have met with 3 years of serious economic reverses and the critical situation caused by the 10-year catastrophe. Though we have smashed the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and removed the greatest obstacles to our progress, it is really very difficult to accomplish the four modernizations in such a country as China, which is heavily populated and economically underdeveloped. Therefore, we should learn from the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, clear away obstacles in our path and fight fearlessly for the realization of socialist modernization in our country. This is the glorious task entrusted to every Communist Party member as well as all the Chinese people. In the struggle over more than half a century, countless numbers of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the lovely China; let us march ahead along their path, carry on the revolutionary cause and fight bravely to build a more lovely China!

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**ENCOURAGE STRONG POINTS AND AVOID WEAKNESSES IN DEVELOPING REGIONAL INDUSTRY--A  
REPORT ON AN INVESTIGATION OF INDUSTRY IN SHASHI MUNICIPALITY, HUBEI PROVINCE**

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[Article by Kang Tan [1660 0982], Zong Han [1350 3352] and Fan Qingzhu [5400 1987 2691]]

[Text] How should strong points be encouraged and weaknesses avoided and how should superiority be brought into play in regional industry, especially in the industry of small and medium-sized towns? Shashi Municipality in Hubei Province has been a trailblazer in answering these questions.

Shashi is situated on the banks of the Changjiang and has a population of nearly 210,000. In the past its industrial and agricultural base was weak. In the 30 years since liberation the people of Shashi, under the leadership of the party and working according to local conditions, have built up this municipality into a burgeoning socialist city with light and textile industries as its mainstay and with fairly well coordinated relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry by encouraging strong points and avoiding weaknesses. Between 1949 and 1979 the gross output value of the municipality's industries increased 79 times, and the average per capita contribution of the city to state and regional revenue increased 136 times. Of the gross output value, the light textile industry accounted for 75 percent and heavy industry for 25 percent. As production developed, the people's standards of living correspondingly increased without letup. Last year the employment rate reached 98 percent, the average per capita income was RMB34 per month, and average bank savings per household were more than RMB300. There was an abundance of goods in the markets, the streets were clean and orderly, the people lived and worked in peace and prosperity and the whole place presented an appearance of well-being.

How was Shashi's industry developed? To put it in a few words, it was done by working from actual local conditions, by giving free play to the superiority of natural resources and by setting up a rational industrial structure; by developing products with their own special style and characteristics and by giving free play to strong points in technology; by using all possible methods to increase production capacity; and by transforming weaknesses into strengths.

1. What sort of industries should be carried on in small and medium-sized towns like Shashi? How should the relations among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry be handled? This was not immediately clear at the outset. During the

early period of liberation and in the course of the First Five-Year Plan, Shashi, like other areas, established some factories. Some projects had to be abandoned because of a lack of raw materials and because there was no market for their products, but production in some factories developed very rapidly, because they were able to draw on local materials. As a result of practical experience, the comrades in Shashi came to realize that in developing regional industry it was essential to work from the basis of local natural resources and other economic conditions of the area, to bring superiority into play and to set up a rational industrial structure.

The area in which Shashi is situated--the Changjiang-Han River plain--is well known throughout the country as a cotton-producing area and as a granary, and it has plentiful natural resources for agricultural products. The Jingzhou area's output of grain accounts for one-third of the grain output for the whole of Hubei Province; its cotton output accounts for half of that of the whole province and for a tenth of the whole country's output. Agriculture and sideline production are both at an advanced level, the incomes of the collective economy and of the commune members are high, life is prosperous and purchasing power is also strong. The possession of natural resources and of markets are important conditions for the development of light industry and textiles.

At the same time, several areas of central and southwestern China, especially in Sichuan, Hunan and Guizhou, have traditional trading links with Shashi, and there is a high level of demand in these areas for the city's industrial products. Apart from this, the municipality is on the Changjiang and has water transport links with Sichuan upstream and with Shanghai and Nanjing downstream. The rivers and lakes of the Changjiang and its environs offer Shashi the advantage of wide-ranging communication links with many rural areas and with some economically advanced regions.

Setting out from the above-mentioned conditions, Shashi laid emphasis on construction of light and textile industries, and on the spinning and weaving industries in particular. The investment of capital required for the spinning and weaving industries was small, and they have a quick turnover and a high rate of accumulation of funds. Shashi made full use of these advantages and, starting with small spinning and weaving mills, gradually increased the scope of its enterprises and the variety of its products right up to the present. It has developed altogether 34 enterprises in spinning and weaving, printing and dyeing, knitting fittings for spun and woven goods, spinning and weaving auxiliary activities, and so on. The gross output value of the spinning and weaving industries has advanced from RMB1.6 million in 1949 to RMB540 million in 1979, a more than 300-fold increase.

Shashi also possesses certain reserves of mineral resources, such as oil, salt, quartz, sand and so forth. On the strength of these reserves, the municipality, while still stressing the spinning and weaving industries, has also developed other light industries. The people there have paid special attention to the silicate industry. They have developed the production of the "two kinds of flasks" (that is, flasks for agricultural chemicals and thermos flasks) and of the "two kinds of lamps" (that is, incandescent and fluorescent lamps), and they have also stepped up the production of such items as soap, electric cells and



rubber shoes, according to the requirements of the rural areas in the vicinity. Because of the abundance of raw materials and the existence of markets for their products, these industries have become more prosperous almost daily, and their present output value accounts for 25 percent of the gross output value of the whole municipality. These industries, together with the textile industry, make up some 75 percent of the municipality's gross industrial output value and are the mainstay of its industry.

It is clear from practice that this form of industrial structure has many advantages:

First, the supply of raw and processed materials is guaranteed, and the economic results are good. By no means is all of Jingzhou's cotton sent to supply Shashi, nor is it right that the whole of it should be used to supply Shashi. Nevertheless, under the premise that the supply of cotton to other areas be guaranteed, there are many advantages to be gained for the development of industry by making the greatest possible use of local materials and local production. By making use of locally grown cotton, great savings can be made in transportation and storage costs. According to statistics, Shashi's transportation costs for each 50-kg load of cotton are on the average 10 percent lower than those of Wuhan and even lower in comparison with some other areas. There is an adequate supply of raw and processed materials, the spinning and weaving mills operate at full capacity, there is a high rate of work-time utilization, and waste of working time and labor is avoided; all grades of cotton products are locally available, their quality is high, and the stability of product quality can be guaranteed; product grades can be regulated promptly according to the requirements of industrial production, and the variety and grades of products as well as their seasonal supply can be suited to industrial development. Because of this, Shashi's industries have achieved better economic results than other similar industrial enterprises. Below is a comparative table showing the 1979 economic results for the municipalities of Shashi and Wuhan and for Hubei Province:

Region:		<u>Shashi</u>	<u>Hubei</u>	<u>Wuhan</u>
Profit per RMB100 of output value	Absolute value (RMB)	25.6	9.6	10.7
	Comparative (percent)	100	37.5	41.8
Output value per RMB100 of fixed assets	Absolute value (RMB)	255	81	84
	Comparative (percent)	100	31.7	32.9
Circulating funds per RMB100 of output value	Absolute value (RMB)	24.9	50	39
	Comparative (percent)	100	201.8	156.6
Overall level of productivity for all employees of industrial enterprises	Absolute value (RMB)	18,282	9,880	11,106
	Comparative (percent)	100	54.7	60

It can be seen from the above table that the fixed assets used to produce an output of RMB100 in Shashi are 68 percent lower than those for Hubei Province and 67 percent lower than the figure for Wuhan Municipality; that the amount of

circulating funds used to produce RMB100 of output value was half that used by Hubei and one-third lower than that used by Wuhan; and that, despite this, the profit achieved by Shashi per RMB100 of output value was 1.6 times greater than that gained by Hubei and 1.4 times that of Wuhan; Shashi's level of productivity was also 45 percent higher than that of Hubei and 40 percent higher than Wuhan's. This is the result of the comprehensive application of the elements described above. The economic results for the spinning and weaving industries are even more outstanding. In 1979 the ratio of profit to output value in Shashi's spinning and weaving industries was almost 5 times that for Hubei; and the output value of these industries in Shashi accounted for 16.7 percent of the provincial output value of the spinning and weaving industries, while the profit they contributed amounted to one-fifth the total profits from the spinning and weaving industries.

Second, the comparative relations within all the various sectors of industry were fairly well coordinated. The foundation of the textile industry is the spinning and weaving of cotton. Because the supply of cotton was guaranteed, textiles gradually expanded (over the last 20 years the number of spindles has increased 25 times and that of looms 150 times), and the demand for dyeing and printing followed, so that the dyeing and printing industry also began to develop. After spinning and weaving and dyeing and printing had developed, fittings, maintenance and dyestuffs were also needed, so the textile equipment industry and the dyestuffs industry began to develop. At present there are four specialized factories producing fittings for textile goods and five factories producing basic industrial chemicals, with an annual output of 800 tons of dyestuffs and over 600 tons of solvents. Following the development of textiles and dyeing and printing, raw materials became available for textile-related products, and, as a consequence, the production of towels, sheets, stockings, readymade clothing, and so on began to develop. Apart from this, a great many street industries sprang up (such as beltmaking and darning and mending).

Is making light and textile industries the mainstay tantamount to not developing heavy industry? No, it is not. In Shashi there are "two advantages and two disadvantages" to the development of heavy industry. The two advantages are: a certain technical capacity exists, and light and textile industries and local agriculture have reached a level of advancement at which they can be called upon to supply the means of production for heavy industry. The two disadvantages are: no iron ore is available, and there is no railroad. Based on these special features and adhering to the policy of encouraging strong points and avoiding weaknesses, Shashi has correspondingly developed goods to support agriculture and products which help to establish completely self-contained local light industries and textile industries. The people there are very circumspect as far as the development of heavy industry is concerned; in each undertaking, much consideration is given to the sources of raw materials, actual requirements and economic results. They were unanimous in their decision not to establish an iron and steel industry, for which there is a lack of locally produced raw materials, and they have not set up a complete industrial system; they have a small steel-rolling mill, but this helps make the light and textile industries self-contained.

Third, this form of industrial structure has promoted the development of agriculture. The industry of small and medium-sized towns must be geared to the needs of the rural areas and must serve agriculture. This is a matter of orientation, and Shashi has adhered to this direction from start to finish. Its textile products in general serve the needs of the local farming communities. The Shashi-produced purple corduroy and "mandarin duck" brand sheets are among the products which are most appreciated by the womenfolk of both Hunan and Hubei and of the local farming areas. Demand always exceeds supply for the broad rubber shoes manufactured by the Shashi rubber factory, which are eminently suited to the needs of the paddy-growing peasants south of the Changjiang. Since Shashi has taken into consideration convenience of both use and purchase by the peasants, the radio sets which are produced there all take a No 1 battery. In order to support agricultural production, and suiting measures to local conditions, Shashi has established factories for the manufacture of synthetic fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, rubber products, diesel engines, and so on. At present the agricultural chemicals manufactured in Shashi account for one-third the total for Hubei, and its production of synthetic fertilizers constitutes one-tenth the total for the Jingzhou region. Almost all of the tires, rubber tubing and bearings for agricultural use in the Jingzhou region are supplied by Shashi.

Because the policy of supporting agriculture has been adhered to, the modernization of agriculture in this area and the development of agricultural production have been very rapid. The Jingzhou region is now one of the most highly mechanized regions in Hubei Province. The proportion of the total cultivated area under mechanical or electrical drainage and irrigation is 95.3 percent, and that for which a stable yield can be assured even in periods of drought or excessive rainfall is 81 percent. In 12 counties or municipalities in 1979, the average per-mu yield for grain crops was 814 jin, for ginned cotton 111 jin and for oil-bearing crops 140 jin or more.

The case of Shashi makes it clear that agriculture is the basis of the national economy and the starting point for developing industry. A town, and especially a small or medium-sized town, will be surrounded by farming communities; it obtains its food and raw materials from the peasants, and most of its products are consumed by the peasants, and this means that in developing production it must not become cut off from the agricultural areas. In starting from actual conditions in the development of industry, the most important thing is to set out from the actual conditions of agriculture. It is impossible to tackle industry only by discussing industry. Once agricultural production has begun to develop, industry has an outlet, and its development must keep pace. That Shashi's industry has developed so quickly is very closely linked to the fact that it has handled its relations with agriculture fairly well and that it has relied closely on agriculture and supported the needs of agriculture.

2. At the same time that it was developing a rational overall plan, Shashi devoted much effort to paying special attention to the variety and quality of its products, and in this respect it did the utmost to bring its own strong points into play.



Seek success through excellence. The fact that there was a surplus of cotton was a favorable condition for Shashi's development of light and textile industries. However, light industrial and textile products must by necessity be numerous and varied, and Shashi was late in developing a great many of these products and its base was weak. How could the town's own particular weaknesses be avoided and its own strong points be encouraged? The people there concentrated especially on the variety of products, continually raised the quality of their goods, revised product designs and strove to introduce innovations in their products; they paid attention to making their products good and cheap and made sure that their own goods were able to hold their own in domestic markets. In these respects there is no more typical example than that of sheets. In the manufacture of sheets, Shashi originally placed the greatest emphasis on copying existing designs or samples furnished by clients; it had no independent designing capacity, its products had no special attractive features and compared poorly with other goods on the market, and in objective terms it was forced to go its own way. People who are prepared to take pains find that their efforts pay off. In expanding they took notice of consumers' suggestions, and, by basing themselves on advanced products from both China and abroad, after 2 years of painstaking research they finally blazed a new trail in design and craftsmanship, creating the distinctive "mandarin duck" brand sheets, which are both practical and attractive and which, moreover, gained a silver medal at last year's national exhibition of industrial products. Only when the quality of products is good, when there is a ready market for them and when, as a result, the development of production is rapid—only under these conditions can superiority be brought fully into play. At present the annual output of sheets has risen from 30,000 units to more than 2 million units and the variety of goods has risen from 3 kinds to more than 70 (with more than 700 different patterns); more than 70 percent of production is exported, and demand exceeds supply both at home and abroad. Take another product as an example. Shashi originally was capable of producing only 1 size of thermos flask, with 6 varieties; this has now advanced to 27 sizes and 185 varieties, and in addition these are made in attractive finishes, have a high heat-retention capacity and have become a famous brand of thermos flask throughout the country. As a result of Shashi's adherence to the practice of striving to attain a higher quality of products and of its development of different patterns and varieties, not only are a great many of its products on sale in every area throughout the country, but 45 kinds have reached distant markets in 68 countries and regions.

Manufacture new products according to market demands. Shashi's frequent analyses of market fluctuations and predictions concerning the requirements of towns and villages are of value in the selection of goods in which there are market shortages, and for the manufacture of which Shashi also possesses the right conditions, and in seizing the right time for starting experimental production. One of the special features of Shashi's industries is that there are a large number of small enterprises. Among 264 enterprises, those with a staff of 500 persons or less account for 97 percent. Production conditions in small enterprises are not compatible with those in large ones, but they do have their own strong points: "A small boat is easy to steer," and if production needs to be increased or decreased, this can be done easily and quickly; there are no millstones around their necks, they can put up with adversity and they possess great enthusiasm. By bringing these special features into play, Shashi has achieved



excellent results. Radial drilling machines were originally a product with a nationally coordinated fixed design, and Shashi's small machine tool factory began production in conjunction with this design. At present its annual output stands at 800 units, half of which are exported. Last year this factory introduced improvements in the basic design and produced a universal drill capable of rotating through 360 degrees and a drill with a sliding base. The year before last an engineer from another area designed a new type of light-sensitive film, which was tested in Shashi. The tests proved that this film offered improvements in the speed and quality of aerial cartography, and on the basis of this evidence Shashi initiated production. In the subsequent period of development of the new product there were some failures, either because the product itself did not possess the necessary qualities, or because of blindness in action, but because the setup was only a small one, losses were on a limited scale, and numerous goods received further development as a result.

In the division of labor between towns and villages, the capacities of each are readily apparent. Shashi's industries, for the most part, serve the needs of local agriculture. In recent years the industrial activities of the surrounding counties and communes have been developing very rapidly, and they have gradually assumed responsibility for the processing of many of the agricultural and sideline products which originally was undertaken by Shashi itself. To consider another aspect, there have been changes in market requirements. Continually responsive to changing situations, Shashi has gradually adjusted its product structure, causing a development trend in some products from rough processing toward high-grade processing and from labor-intensive toward technology-intensive manufacture. In this way, work can be delegated to some extent to the counties and communes; this does not lead to the duplication of production but rather makes possible the bringing into play of superiority and the achievement of relatively good economic results. For example, in the textile industry, if the counties manufacture plain white cotton cloth, Shashi consequently puts more emphasis on dyed and printed cloth, synthetic fiber products and knits. For these goods the technological requirements are high, output is large and the profit ratio is also high. Between 1965 and 1979, Shashi's output of plain gray cotton cloth increased by 30 percent, of dyed and printed cloth by 130 percent, of sheets by 35 percent and of knitted underwear by 40 percent, while profits rose by 510 percent.

As for heavy industrial products, Shashi does not go in for those goods which require a lot of iron and steel and which are difficult to transport, but instead concentrates on products which use little material, are lightweight, are easy to transport and for which a definite market exists. The drill manufactured by the machine tool factory weighs only 75 kilogram and is less than 1 meter in height, and labor accounts for 70 percent of its production costs. The quality of this drill is good; it won a gold medal at this year's commodities exhibition. The high-quality hard alloy drill weighs only 1 ton, but its price is up to RMB30,000. The wide-angle lens produced by the optical instruments factory weighs only 1 kilogram, its quality compares well with similar Chinese-made products and its price is a third lower, but its profit ratio is as high as 36 percent. This factory has a staff of only a few hundred persons, but it can still contribute a net income of over RMB2 million a year to the state.

3. There are also weak points in Shashi's industry. There are deficiencies in the base, it had a poor foundation to start with, its equipment is technically backward and it is also not a specially designated area for the investment of state capital. On the one hand, demand for its products is constantly improving; on the other hand, its production conditions are backward. This represents an acute contradiction. How are the people there resolving the problem?

First, they are adhering to the policy of self-reliance, of arduous struggle and of tapping their own latent power. Shashi is a small town, with many small enterprises, and there is mutual understanding between these enterprises. The people of Shashi make use of this point to break down, as far as possible, the barriers between enterprises and to organize coordinated and integrated production based on the need to develop the production forces. Apart from organizing enterprises, general factories or specialized companies according to the principle of specialized coordination and not setting up "big and complete" and "small and complete" enterprises, they are also forging ahead with industrial management and with such features as the integration of those enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people with those under the collective ownership system, as well as the joint management of labor collectives and small neighborhood collectives. Extensive production does not mean starting up new operations but rather making the fullest use of the old factories and old equipment scattered throughout the town, either by taking from those which have too much and giving to those which have too little, or by organizing production by merging several factories. Within the confines of the whole town, technical staff and workers are organized and cooperate according to the needs of scientific research and innovation; the use of private funds has also broken down the barriers between the two systems of ownership, and these funds have been invested wherever they will produce the greatest possible benefit in developing production, but there has been no change in the distribution of funds. As to the relations of subordination, none of the enterprises managed by the various departments has a heavily guarded entrance, and they practice the division of labor, not the segregation of families, carrying out management according to the principles of bringing present production capacity into full play and of promoting the development of production.

By tapping the latent potentials of existing enterprises, it is possible to raise the level of the productive forces without spending any more money, or by spending only a relatively small amount. The results of taking the course of tapping potentials are that capital investment is not large and that production nevertheless develops very rapidly. Shashi at present has 154 light industrial plants, of which the state has invested capital in or given assistance to only 6. The remainder were set up mainly by relying on the tapping of potentials. In the course of the last 30 years, the total capital invested in these factories amounts to RMB520 million, of which 42.2 percent was raised independently, and the state invested only RMB270 million. Shashi's industrial output value for 2 years is RMB1 billion, of which RMB170 million is accumulated surplus; thus 1.5 years' surplus would be sufficient to make good the entire state investment.

Second, they are going all out for technical innovation and are adhering to the practice of standing on their own two feet. Originally there were many manual workers in the factories of this municipality, production efficiency was low and

the intensity of labor among workmen was high. Since liberation, by doing everything in their power to meet this urgent need, they have, in a planned and well thought out manner, brought technical innovation within their grasp. Each year, throughout the municipality, as many as 1,000 achievements in technical innovation are recorded. Over the last 10 years or so they have improved the equipment and the craftsmanship of their businesses producing thermos flasks, sheets, soap and locks, raising the mechanization levels of these businesses to about 70 percent, which has had great effect in spurring production development. For example, last year as many as 1,700 technical innovations were made; among these, 149 were fairly important innovations, while 14 were recognized nationally. The increased output value due to technical innovations reached RMB7,250,000, and, moreover, up to 1,000 units of labor were saved.

The direction of industrial development is that of transition from manual labor to mechanization and automation. Nevertheless, in introducing mechanization and automation it is necessary to start from the basis of the actual situation, proceed according to one's own strengths and abilities and do things in order of importance and urgency. If conditions are ripe for the mechanization of certain craft equipment, then a decision should be made for mechanization to take place; if the conditions are temporarily not suitable, or if, after the work has been carried out, it will not be possible to guarantee the quality of the goods produced, then some measures for semimechanization or semiautomation should be taken instead; under some conditions, a certain amount of manual labor is unavoidable. Why is it necessary to continue to make use of manual labor? These are some of the reasons: First, because of limitations in the level of technology and in other fields, it may be impossible for a time to find suitable ways of introducing mechanization and automation, in which case things must temporarily remain as they are. Second, there are some processes and crafts in which, if mechanization were introduced, it would not be at a high enough level for product quality to be assured. Thus, for instance, if the painting of the designs on the casings of thermos flasks is done by a mechanical printing process, the brightness of the colors is not as good as if the job is done by hand; the blowing of the glass liners for smaller sizes of flasks can be done by machine, but if a suitable machine for making the specially large sizes cannot be found, then the only thing to do is to continue to use hand-blowing methods. Third, the batch sizes for some products are small, and they are subject to rapid fluctuations, so that it is not worthwhile to use mechanized production methods. For the printing of patterns on sheets, it pays to use machines if the batch size exceeds 10,000 units; but if only 100 or 200 units are to be printed and if machines are used, even the cost of plate making cannot be recouped (the cost of making a set of silk-screen printing blocks is almost RMB2,000, which is more than the selling price of 100 sheets). This means that in this case it is much more practical to do the job by hand. Lastly, some products of neighborhood industries use only simple manufacturing methods, are made only in small quantities and do not require machine production; the use of manual labor in these areas also helps to expand employment. Between 1974 and 1979 Shashi's work force was augmented by 21,000 workers and staff, and 76.6 percent of this total was absorbed into the collective ownership system and by neighborhood industries. The fixed assets of the enterprises in this municipality which belong to the system of collective ownership account for 18 percent of the fixed assets of all the industries put together, but their total of workers and staff makes up 41 percent of the total number of industrial employees of the town as a whole.



Third, they are carrying out the "doctrine of grasping new ideas" and learning from other areas. Shashi possesses a spirit of striving for improvement and a willingness to learn. The people are constantly searching out the differences between other areas and other units, and wherever they find advanced areas they learn from them. They seize new ideas with enthusiasm, study how to adapt them for use with their own advanced technology, and with all speed apply them in production. Year after year they learn from Changzhou, modestly calling that municipality "the town we are apprenticed to." They learn from Shanghai, from Foshan, Wuhan, Xiangfan, Huangshi and Yichang, as well as from industries at the county level. They believe that small towns like Shashi must study and introduce advanced technology from abroad, but that they must first of all study the technology which is "in their own backyard" and strive to grasp that part of China's own ripe experience of advancement and technology which is appropriate for their own purposes in order to rapidly develop production. Study is not simply imitation or indiscriminate copying; rather it is the close coordination of the actual conditions of a particular area and is based on creative adaptation. It means a willingness to use one's brains, a disregard for failure, and the courage to venture where no man has gone before, to consider problems which no one has previously thought about.

Fourth, the people of Shashi are emphasizing the cultivation and utilization of technical personnel. Apart from employing all possible methods to enlist the support of able and talented people and seeking help from technical personnel and skilled workers of other areas, they are making use of such means as the establishment of technical training schools, spare-time universities and television classes to raise their scientific and technological levels. Last year this small town actually operated more than 100 spare-time schools and technical and cultural study groups for workers and staff, and the ratio of enrollment for both workers and staff reached 20 percent. The electronics industry also set up a state-subsidized, independently run university, with a centralized entrance examination, which is expected to produce 40 graduates next year.

Shashi attaches importance to cultivating and promoting its cadres. The majority of this municipality's cadres are young and fairly experienced and have drive; they understand the business of production and enterprise management. In the industrial system, leading cadres above the level of bureau number 57 persons, of whom 33, or 57 percent, were promoted from the frontline of production; 42, or 70 percent, are experienced. Cadres from the factory level in the textile industry and the first and second light industry bureaus, along with their management personnel, number 367 persons, of whom 205, or 55 percent, were drawn from the first production level; of the 76 cadres in the advanced enterprises of the three organizations, 61 are from the first production level. These cadres are in the prime of life, have practical experience, understand the production process and the workers and have grasped the basic essentials of production. There are few administrative levels in the municipal party committee structure, and the important leading cadres do not direct production while sitting in an office, but often go down to the grassroots level to solve problems.

If strong points are encouraged and weaknesses avoided, inferiority may be transformed into superiority; this, then, is Shashi's theory for industrial development.



## BREEDING BY SPECIALIZED HOUSEHOLDS--A GOOD WAY TO DEVELOP ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

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[Article by Li Yong [2621 0516]]

[Text] By the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's, animals owned collectively in our country were bred by the households of commune members (now called specialized households). This breeding method played an important role in breeding pigs. But this method was criticized and hampered during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, this breeding method has been gradually restored and has begun to develop again. Heilongjiang Province has developed thousands of such specialized households. A prefecture in Changsha, Hunan Province, also has set up more than 1,480 such households. Of the 97 collective pig breeding farms with over 30 pigs each in Yuci Prefecture of Shanxi Province, 66 are run by such households. In Dakui People's Commune, Pengshui Prefecture, Sichuan Province, 24 out of 34 collective pig farms are run by households. This breeding method now has expanded from people's communes and production brigades in rural areas to state farms. While this method had been limited to pig breeding, now it is also used in the breeding of grazing cattle, sheep, rabbits, poultry and bees. Thanks to this method, the products and value of animal husbandry have continued to increase.

Breeding by specialized households is carried out mainly in two forms. The first form is that commune members breed a few poultry during their spare time with the help of their families. But they are mainly engaged in collective production. Another form is that all able-bodied members of a peasant household cooperate with other households in breeding quite a number of poultry, with greater specialization. Usually the second form develops from the first form. These two forms are carried out through contracts between production brigades and specialized households in which the economic responsibility of both sides is defined.

Payment for this breeding method is usually divided into the following five categories:

First, the "four fixed quotas and award" system of responsibility. This category is used by most specialized households that are responsible for breeding pigs in Dakui People's Commune of Pengshui Prefecture, Sichuan Province. The first quota means that each household breeds 10 sows (to produce 80 piglets),

10 stout pigs and 10 hogs; the second quota refers to fodder production, with each household having to produce 4,000-5,000 jin of concentrated fodder and 60,000-80,000 jin of green fodder; the third quota refers to 1,000 yuan annual net income from pig breeding; the fourth quota refers to workpoints. In the fourth quota, when a household fulfills the above-mentioned tasks, it will get workpoints which are 10 to 15 percent above the level of the production brigade to which it belongs. Those who overfulfill pig breeding and fodder tasks will get 40 percent of the award; but those who fail to fulfill their tasks will have their workpoints deducted, after investigations are made as to the cause of their failures.

Second, payment according to production. This category is used by most households specializing in pig breeding in Hunan Province. Contracts are usually signed between the production brigades and the households early each year. The contracts define the number of pigs to be raised for the entire year, the number of pigs to be marketed, the total production costs and the method of producing fodder. An accounting is made at the end of the year, and awards are given to those overfulfilling their tasks by the production brigades taking part in the effort. Usually a household with four to five persons that specializes in pig breeding has one main laborer and two auxiliary laborers. Such a household raises 50 to 70 pigs, of which 5 to 6 are sows. It has to hand over stout pigs (including piglets) weighing a total of 5,000-6,000 jin. For each additional jin of gross weight the household is awarded 1.5 to 2 workpoints and 2-3 jin of grain.

Third, inclusive breeding responsibility. This category is used by female commune member Liu Yixin of the Zhangshuling Production Brigade of Qiyang Prefecture, Hunan Province, in breeding rabbits. In the early part of the year the production brigade handed her 45 mature rabbits, for which she was asked to pay 13 yuan each. The production brigade subsidized her 18 jin of paddy rice, 10 jin of husks, 100 jin of green fodder, and 0.30 yuan for the medical and tools fee for each rabbit. Upon fulfilling the tasks, she would get 3,200 workpoints. She would be awarded if she overfulfilled the tasks but would have to compensate for any drop in production. Rabbit manure and chemical fertilizer that is given as an award and can be sold belongs to the collective. When the account was settled at the end of the year, she received 1,236 yuan, which after deductions for various expenses brought her a net income of 851 yuan. In addition, she received a 266-yuan award, and the production brigade got 585 yuan. An award of 110 dan of manure and 275 jin of chemical fertilizer was given to the collective.

Fourth, distribution of profits. The Xige Production Brigade on the outskirts of Fusun Municipality in Liaoning Province has four chicken breeding groups composed of several households. In 1979 the production brigade handed 4,000 chickens to each group, which had to produce 3 tons of meat and turn in 20 hand-carts of manure. The production brigade also supplied 9,000 jin of fodder for each ton of poultry. Each ton of poultry on the average brought an income of 10,800 yuan. Twenty-five percent of the profits was used as payment for labor. Wang Licheng and his wife took in 7,199 chickens last year and produced 11,174 jin of poultry meat and an income of 20,000 yuan. A deduction of 14,000 yuan for expenses left 6,000 yuan in net profit. The couple earned 1,500 yuan.

Fifth, flexible payment according to evaluation of basic workpoints. Commune member Zhang Sipin and his family are breeding collective pigs. At the beginning of the year the production brigade evaluated the basic workpoints according to the labor productivity and skills of each member of the family. At the end of the year the number of workpoints and amount of grain for the family was calculated according to the income from the pigs it had raised. Its basic workpoints in early 1978 were about 10 percent higher than the workpoints awarded to persons of the same labor capacity. In the whole year, the pigs the family raised increased in weight by over 69,000 jin and produced over 30,000 dan of manure. The family handed over more than 8,770 yuan in net profit. By the end of the year the Zhangs had recorded 95,700 workpoints. Thus, the workpoints, income and grain received by the family were, respectively, 17, 31 and 12 percent higher than the average levels in the production brigade.

The method of specialized households has many advantages.

First, it is in the interest of consolidating the collective economy. The fourth production team of the Hongjin Production Brigade of Wuchang Prefecture in Heilongjiang Province began to raise pigs in 1973. But because of inadequate management the production team got into debt for several successive years. In 1976 and 1977 it lost over 920 yuan. At a time when the production team was considering suspending this operation, commune member Wang Fu asked to raise the pigs. They signed a contract, and the situation took a turn for the better. Of the 50 production teams of the Jingang People's Commune in Liaoyuan Municipality, Jilin Province, 25 introduced pig breeding by specialized households in 1979. These households raised 290 mature sows, each of which, on the average, bore 8.3 live piglets as against 5.3 the previous year. Eventually, production costs dropped by over 1,600 yuan. All of these production teams made a profit and drastically increased their income. On the other hand, the other 25 production teams raised 233 mature sows, but the average birth rate of each sow was only 4.5 live piglets, 3.8 fewer piglets than the average of the specialized production teams, and production costs increased by 83 yuan. Nineteen of these production teams constantly lost money in their operations. The number of production teams engaged in raising pigs in this people's commune has increased from 25 to 41.

Second, it is in the interest of increasing labor productivity. The formation of specialized households is a good way to make use of semi-able-bodied or part-time laborers and auxiliary laborers. It has become a common practice that when a household specializes in breeding animals or poultry, all the members of the family, including semi-able-bodied or part-time laborers and auxiliary laborers, are mobilized. In addition, each household usually makes full use of its spare time.

Third, as such an organizational form of production is one in which the amount of payment is based on the result of the work, it has raised the initiative of the breeders. Commune member Fung Deteng of the Anxing Production Brigade of Heze People's Commune in Shandong Province, whose household specializes in breeding pigs, was once busily engaged during a winter season in taking care of a sow that was giving birth. When the first and second piglets were born, he put them under his coat near his chest to protect them from the cold. When more piglets came, his wife brought in a cotton-padded quilt to protect them. As a



result, all 10 piglets lived. Another commune member, Wang Xidong of the Xiwen Production Brigade of Yuci People's Commune in Shanxi Province, used sheep's milk from the only sheep he was raising to feed piglets. Due to his efforts, the survival rate of the piglets greatly increased. He is planning to buy another ewe this year with his award.

Fourth, the advantage of specialized households lies in their smaller investment, quicker returns, low costs and good economic results. The characteristic feature of breeding by specialized households is that this form requires neither a leading team nor organizations. It can be carried out by the masses, with production funds accumulated by themselves. As all the members of a household work together, they can work in close coordination without thinking of personal gains and losses. In addition, they can make full use of scattered fodder. The pig farm of the second branch of the Nankou farm in Beijing is managed by Qi Juilin and the other five members of his family. One of his sons is responsible for breeding stout pigs, two are responsible for breeding sows and the fourth is responsible for processing fodder. His wife is responsible for household duties. He himself helps where he is needed and is responsible for technical guidance. In the second half of the year they cut the amount of labor in half and reduced expenses by over 3,000 yuan and small incidental expenses by more than 1,000 yuan. Yet they increased labor productivity. The production cost for each jin of pig dropped from 1.02 yuan in the first half of the year to 0.64 yuan in the second half.

Fifth, it is in the interest of making full use of traditional experiences to stabilize the rank of pig breeders. Breeding by specialized households enables each household and individual to display his own advantages. They may graze oxen or sheep according to their advantages. In general, specialized households are appointed through selection. The Heshan Production Brigade of Heshan Prefecture in Shanxi Province needed a specialized household to graze 48 cows and demanded that the household be able to keep the birth survival rate at 50 percent, as against the previous 36.6 percent. Five households applied for the job, and after bidding it was won by commune member Zhao Sanyou and his family. He has a decade of experience in grazing oxen behind him, and consequently he managed to improve the birth survival rate to 70 percent. Another commune member, Zhang Xingyong, and his wife, of the Youhao Production Brigade of Weinan Prefecture, Shaanxi Province, have been breeding collective animals for 15 years. Statistics over the past 6 years showed that the pregnancy rate, birth rate and survival rate of the animals under their care were more than 90 percent. The couple is now passing on its experiences to its sons and daughters-in-law. The form of breeding by specialized households helps stabilize the rank of breeders and improves the specialization of breeding.

Sixth, the farm is in line with the cadres' management level. Experiences over the past many years have shown that many collective breeding farms failed to develop; their productivity dropped and they suffered losses. Eventually, such farms became burdens for the people's communes and production brigades. The reason was that the cadres' management level was too low. With the introduction of the specialized households, all breeders are now working with one mind to make the masses have confidence in them and to lighten the burden of the cadres. Leaders of some production teams have said that they are now able to manage breeding farms run by specialized households.



Is breeding by specialized households just an expedient measure or a long-term measure? What is the relationship between this method of breeding and the modernization of animal husbandry? Denmark is a country with modern animal husbandry, and its productivity is much higher than ours. But the size of Danish farms run by households is limited. In 1977, each cattle farm throughout the country had an average of 27.5 cows, a sow farm had an average of 34 sows, a stout pig farm had an average of 147 pigs, a chicken and egg farm had an average of 4,000 hens and a poultry farm had an average of 18,000 chickens. Some production processes are carried out manually. Experience in our country and abroad shows that breeding by specialized households is in line not only with our present production level but also with the need for large-scale production in the future, because this method enhances vitality. On the basis of specialization, this breeding method will increase productivity and develop from specialized households to specialized mass production in keeping with scientific development and production socialization. At present an ordinary specialized household is at least able, by using traditional methods, to raise dozens of pigs and produce several hundred jin of pork. If such households are further organized, with changes in production conditions, unified planning for the supply of breeds and fodder, and technical guidance, then each household will be able to raise hundreds of pigs and produce tens of thousands of jin of pork (some specialized households have already reached this level). It is not difficult for a specialized household with five members to produce 10,000 jin of pork a year and an income of 10,000 yuan. Therefore, if we popularize this method, it will be of great significance in changing the structure of our food supply and in fulfilling the national income target. Can we expect that, following the development of breeding by specialized households and when conditions are ripe, we will take a Chinese-style road to modernization of animal husbandry on the basis of mutual interest? The modernization of our animal husbandry must be realized by combining such households through a planned method which utilizes advanced science and technology.

Leadership is vital in doing a good job of promoting the breeding industry by means of specialized households. The influence of the ultraleftist line is still far from being eliminated and remains the biggest obstacle to our work. Different views on breeding by specialized households have existed since the introduction of this method. The focus of the arguments is: Is this method advanced or backward? Does it represent capitalism or socialism? Will this method be followed by polarization? These questions have been basically solved since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee. Yet some people still worry about this method; they are afraid of taking "full responsibility." Consequently, they dare not make bold proposals. Some people who began to use this method early in the year abolished it at the end of the year. Experience over the past two decades and more has proved that the form of breeding by specialized households is a production method that is in line with the current productivity of our country. It is an advanced method because it promotes productivity. It is suitable for rural areas and grazing areas and even more applicable in vast mountainous areas with scarce population. The means of production used in this method are under public ownership, the products are distributed through unified planning, the laborers receive payment according to their job and there is no exploitation. Therefore, this method has nothing to do with capitalism. Individual incomes differ according to the work performed by each laborer. Such a situation is normal, because the difference embodies the principle of distribution

according to work. Commune member Qi Juilin and his family of the Nankou farm in Beijing last year received 620 yuan in award and profits in addition to his salary; he won the 620 yuan on the basis of the contract on breeding pigs. Some people then suggested that this contract be canceled. But the leadership decided to stick with it. Some other people, who supported this method, said that even if Qi Juilin brought a golden toy home they must let him do so. To successfully carry out breeding work by specialized households it is imperative that the leadership embrace this method in its ideology, policies, workstyle and management and that it give technical guidance. It must work in a down-to-earth manner and must in no way carry out this breeding method through precipitate action. Many countries in the world do not follow the same pattern in modernizing their animal husbandry, and thus it is in our country, too. Breeding by specialized households is only one method, but not the only one.

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## APPLY SYSTEMS SCIENCE TO ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

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[Article by Ding Hongmu [0002 7703 6206], chief engineer of the Beijing Qinghe woolen textiles factory]

[Text] One of the points I noticed on an inspection tour abroad last year is the development attained by foreign countries in enterprise management. We should learn from their modern technological and managerial methods. Over the last 30 years we have had considerable success in enterprise management, which we should continue to develop and improve and not ignore altogether. However, we should also introduce advanced foreign management theories and technology into our country and learn from them, so as to strengthen, develop and increase the speed of modernization of our enterprise management.

Many fields of work are covered in the modernization of enterprise management. One of the essential aspects is the application of systems science to enterprise management. In systems science the object of study is treated as a system. The core of the theory is the integration, targeting and optimization of the system, which means that it starts with the system's integration, chooses the best methods, procedure and means and reaches the expected target. The main work of the system is to obtain all kinds of information, carry out analysis, calculation and processing, storage and reporting, and then transmit the essential information. The application of systems science to enterprise management means treating an enterprise as a system and as one part of the social system and running it according to the methods of systems science so as to achieve the best enterprise management effect.

An enterprise is a unit which manufactures products with great efficiency. Industrial enterprises include such varied components as scientific research, technological development, labor production, staff welfare, transportation and other aspects of management. They are at once highly varied and complex. If we do not build a set procedure to harmonize and solve the various relations in the enterprise and learn to work systematically, enterprises will not be able to work smoothly and efficiently. Instead there will be disorder and contradictions.

To do well in enterprise management we must do well within the enterprise itself, as well as incorporate it within the social system, then study and solve the influence of social factors. The stages of production include energy consumption, product processing, packaging, and so forth. In the past we only attended to the

processing of raw materials into finished products. The means of production, industrial design and technological conditions are concrete. This is called hard technology. Modern enterprise management should go beyond the realm of hard technology and be extended to marketing and market forecasting, which are called soft technology.

In modern enterprise management the practice of only attending to the internal management of enterprises is already outdated. An important element of enterprise management is the study of market feedback from outside the enterprise. Among the many elements of enterprise management, that of market feedback is gaining in importance. In a socialist country competition is inevitable. Whoever tries to stop competition with administrative means will surely hinder production development. Therefore, an enterprise should study not only raw materials and product processing, but also market feedback and the sales situation.

Product processing is concrete, whereas optimized conditions to meet market demand are abstract. This relation receives great attention abroad. For example, in an Italian company there are 5,805 employees in the woolen textiles section, which is 26.7 percent of the entire staff, and 10,599 employees in the garments section, which is 48.8 percent of the entire staff. Of the latter, 1,059 are responsible for putting the products in order and packaging them, which accounts for 10.33 percent of the staff of the whole section. This shows the importance of marketing and packaging. In the past our factory suffered from emphasis on production and a lack of emphasis on marketing. In the reforms in enterprise management held at selected points, we made a great effort to organize groups of technological and marketing personnel to penetrate the market, ascertain consumer needs, establish direct contact between factories and shops, install special windows and establish trial sales outlets. We also convened meetings between factories and sales outlets to review market information and appraise products. Together we judged and selected 140 types of products and 13 types of new products and restored and developed 7 types of traditional products and 7 types of products in short supply. In this way, what is produced is exactly what is demanded. As a result, the consumers are pleased and production development is promoted. In last year's national assessment contest for woolen textile products, two of our factory's products achieved "good grade" status and five achieved "quality" status.

In an enterprise, scientific research-technological personnel on one side and sales-management personnel on the other often have different opinions on certain questions. The management personnel emphasize the effect of production progress and utilization of capital funds, whereas the technological-engineering personnel want to maintain product design and quality. Even on raw materials and dyes there is often discord between the two sides. One of the tasks of modern management is to unify all the aspects of management within systems engineering to reach the common goal. Leaders of enterprises should adjust the relations between all the aspects according to production needs. They should try as far as possible to make the best use of staff resources in order to promote productivity.

Systems science is a composite science of all branches of science and technology. Applied to manabement, systems science is related to engineering technology,



quality control techniques, operational research, value engineering, and so forth. To do well in systems science, on the one hand we train professionals in this field and run courses in optimization and comprehensive quality control; on the other hand we collaborate with academic groups in society, colleges and universities, and scientific research departments. We formally recruit experts and scientific research personnel from such units as the Mathematics Department of the Science Institute, the Telecommunications Department of Qinghua University, the Aerodynamics Research Workshop of the Beijing Aeronautical Engineering Institute, and the Psychological Research Center of the Science Institute to participate in the modernization of enterprise management. This helps greatly in raising the standard of science and technology among enterprise management personnel and strengthening enterprise management itself.

To apply systems science to enterprise management and to raise efficiency and accuracy in collecting and handling information, we need to use modern management equipment according to actual needs. Our factory uses Model 130 electronic calculators, the first step toward making quality control graphs. With the help of the Mathematics Department of the Science Institute, we began to replace complicated experimental data with tables and graphs. We also intend to strengthen modernization in surveying, testing and laboratory testing. There are tens of thousands of data in a modern enterprise. Only with modern means of surveying and testing can the data of a few dozen or a few hundred people in a working day be accurately reflected in a few seconds. Only then can it be digested and organized and can instructions be issued to initiate dozens of procedures to raise the efficiency of work.

(Comrade Ding Hongmu died recently of illness after writing this article.)

CSO: 4004

**STIRRING UP TROUBLE AT BEIJING UNIVERSITY AND BRINGING DISASTER UPON THE WHOLE COUNTRY—THE EVIL AIM OF LIN BIAO, JIANG QING, KANG SHENG, CHEN BODA AND COMPANY IN ACCUSING LIU SHAOQI OF 'FORMULATING AND PUSHING A BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE'**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 pp 32-36

[Article by the propaganda department of the party committee of Beijing University]

[Text] In the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary, fell victim to sordid and false political charges and was subjected to a brutal personal attack. It was under the pretext of criticizing Comrade Liu Shaoqi's so-called crimes of "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line" that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company openly accused and persecuted him. What were their pretexts for making such an accusation against Comrade Liu Shaoqi? At a meeting held on 16 October 1966, Chen Boda gave a definition of the "bourgeois reactionary line," saying that "sending a large number of work teams to suppress revolutionary students means committing errors of line" and that the "erroneous line characterized by sending a large number of work teams to suppress the masses and hit out at the revolutionary activists is also a bourgeois reactionary line." Actually, Chen Boda's clamor about repudiating "Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois reactionary line" was nothing but a dirty political trick deliberately played by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to usurp party leadership and state power! They decided to spearhead the attack from Beijing University. Let us now expose their tricks and bring their crimes to light in accordance with the events that occurred at Beijing University during the initial stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

In May 1966 the vast historical tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in our country entered its initial stage. At that time, Kang Sheng, with ulterior motives, sent a "theoretical investigation group from the central authorities" headed by his wife to Beijing University. He personally gave the investigation group confidential instructions, saying: "Kindle the flames in Beijing University and spread the fire to the upper levels." After entering the university, this investigation group plotted behind closed doors and kindled the flames at the grassroots level. It talked twice with a veteran comrade who was a member of the party committee of Beijing University, inducing him to join Nie Yuanzi in "exposing Lu Ping" and to frame the party committee of Beijing University. However, this veteran comrade rejected the sinister design. Nie Yuanzi took the lead in putting up the "first big-character poster" on 25 May at the instigation of the investigation group. This big-character poster was written at the

suggestion of Kang Sheng's wife. It directly attacked Song Shuo, deputy director of the university affairs department of the Beijing municipal party committee; Lu Ping, secretary of the party committee of Beijing University; and Peng Peiyun, deputy secretary of the party committee of Beijing University. It groundlessly accused the party committee of Beijing University of practicing revisionism, clamored for "resolute, thorough, complete and total eradication" of all Khrushchev-type counterrevolutionary revisionists and focused its attack on Comrade Liu Shaoqi. By shattering the party organizations of Beijing University, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company tried to create a breach, stir up trouble, disrupt the party and plunge the whole nation into chaos so that they could achieve their sinister purpose of usurping party leadership and state power. As soon as this anti-Marxist wall poster came out, it met with strong opposition from the broad masses of cadres, teachers and students, which was brought to the close attention of the party Central Committee. On the same evening, Comrade Zhou Enlai sent people to Beijing University to seriously criticize the big-character poster. This was a head-on blow at Kang Sheng, who later said: "Once the wall poster came out, the counterrevolutionaries tried to wipe it out," and "I was also under pressure." Kang Sheng realized that Nie Yuanzi had a bad reputation and that the wall poster had been sternly refuted. However, he still said impudently: "I still support her even if she is a bastard." The "Great Cultural Revolution" was carried out under circumstances in which some people made an unrealistic appraisal of the situation and wrongly interpreted revisionism. In addition, the democratic centralism of our party was severely sabotaged, and inner-party life was extremely abnormal. Taking advantage of the situation, Kang Sheng used newspapers and broadcasts to widely publicize this big-character poster, which disrupted the party and harmed the state. This not only paralyzed the party organizations of Beijing University but also harmed the whole party and the entire nation.

Revolutionary practice in our country has proved that party leadership is the basic guarantee for the victory of the revolutionary cause. It is only under the leadership of the party that the mass campaign can develop in a healthy way. Otherwise, it will be misled and utilized by cunning conspirators and careerists. In order to strengthen leadership over the campaign at Beijing University, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the work of the central authorities, sent a work team to Beijing University on 1 June--the day the big-character poster of Nie Yuanzi and her accomplices was broadcast throughout the country. It has been common practice for a long period of time for our party to send work teams to the units to guide the campaign there. In the agrarian reform and the three-anti and five-anti movements, the party sent work teams to guide the movements. It was obvious that sending work teams was our party's working method. In the initial stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution," why was the decision of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and others on sending work teams regarded as a heinous crime, and why should they have been overthrown on the strength of this decision?

At that time, using the power they had seized, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda stirred up trouble. On 2 June 1966, when the big-character posters of Nie Yuanzi and others were published on the front page of RENMIN RIBAO, which was under their control, Comrades Song Shuo, Lu Ping and Peng Peiyun were labeled "black gang elements" at Kang Sheng's suggestion. In a commentator's article personally cooked up by Chen Boda in coordination with these wall posters and some other

editorials written under his guidance, the party organizations of Beijing University were labeled "antiparty clique," "revisionist party" and "fake Communist Party," and Beijing University was accused of being the "most stubborn antiparty and antisocialist stronghold." Even the meeting at the International Hotel held in 1965 under the direction of the party Central Committee to discuss the work of Beijing University was slandered as "an extremely serious counterrevolutionary event." The attack was directed against leading comrades of the central authorities. In the meantime, Kang Sheng appointed his wife deputy head of the work team and thereby directly poked his nose into the Beijing University campaign. Kang Sheng and Chen Boda attended to the matter personally and gave direct orders to the work team at Beijing University. On 4 June Chen Boda told the leading group of the work team: "Beijing University has become a stronghold of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and a stronghold of the bourgeoisie for opposing the proletariat. They are training the successors of the bourgeois counterrevolutionaries and renegades. This is a very stubborn stronghold which should be captured from within. We should have our own people to rely upon." Chen Boda pointed out that the Beijing University campaign should be carried out according to the Xiaozhan experience gained during the "four cleanups" movement in Tianjin. What did Chen Boda's so-called Xiaozhan experience consist of? It consisted of the ultraleftist line, which brutally persecuted cadres and masses, concocted a so-called counterrevolutionary ruling clique composed of "landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, enemies, puppet soldiers, gendarmes, police and spies" and produced a diagram of the so-called "reactionary ruling system." Chen Boda ordered the work team to follow this pattern and asked some people to specially draw a diagram of the "reactionary ruling system." Kang Sheng and Chen Boda tried their utmost to bring the "Great Cultural Revolution" of Beijing University into their counterrevolutionary orbit in order to usurp party leadership and state power.

However, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the work of the central authorities, instructed the work team to strengthen its leadership over the campaign and to attach importance to policies, and he said that a distinction should be drawn between those inside and outside the party. Nonetheless, due to the fact that the ultraleftist ideological trend characterized by the practice of "doubting everything and overthrowing everything" was increasingly prevalent at the university, incidents of randomly ferreting out and struggling against cadres and teachers occurred constantly. On the morning of 18 June, when the work team was holding a meeting, a frightful incident involving random struggle against and beating of cadres and teachers occurred. This was a severe case of contravention of the law and a breach of discipline. In the 38th hall of the university, a so-called "center for struggling against demons" was set up, and many arrests were made. A large number of cadres were ruthlessly ferreted out and struggled against. All this set a very bad precedent for the whole country. According to incomplete statistics, at that time more than 60 cadres were crowned with tall paper hats, their faces were smeared with ink and big-character posters were attached to them. In addition, they were forced to kneel, and their hair and clothes were torn to pieces. They were beaten up, paraded through the university and struggled against. What was more disgusting was that there were cases of hooliganism in which woman comrades were insulted. This was the "18 June" incident, which created a furor. Once the incident occurred, the work team immediately rushed to



the scene to stop the act of breaking the law and breaching discipline. That same evening, Comrade Zhang Chengxian, head of the work team, broadcast a speech to the whole university in which he criticized the act as a violation of the party's policy. He stressed that the campaign should be carried out under the leadership of the party and that, without the authorization of the work team, nobody was allowed to ferret out and struggle against people at random. He also pointed out that a handful of people (such as hardened thieves and hooligans) had got in on the act of beating and struggling against people at random and had taken advantage of the situation to create trouble and stir things up. Comrade Zhang Chengxian suggested that teachers and students throughout the university seriously discuss the incident and draw lessons from it. After the discussion, most teachers and students realized that the act of beating and struggling against people at random should be opposed, and they supported the measures taken by the work team. The situation at Beijing University was once again stabilized.

Under the conditions in which the ultraleftist ideological trend whipped up by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company was spreading unchecked, the work team inevitably made some "leftist" deviations in exercising leadership over the Beijing University campaign. However, facts proved that the guiding principle and measures adopted by the work team in dealing with the "18 June" incident were in accordance with party policy. On 19 June the work team wrote a brief report to the central authorities on the incident and how to deal with it. Comrade Liu Shaoqi wrote instructions on the report, saying: "The methods adopted by the work team at Beijing University were correct and prompt. If similar incidents occur elsewhere, work teams are advised to follow the methods adopted at Beijing University." These instructions, which were transmitted throughout the country, played a positive role in safeguarding the socialist legal system and preventing illegal acts of beating and struggling against people at random. However, not long after that these instructions became Comrade Liu Shaoqi's main crime of "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line," "suppressing revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country," "attacking the revolutionary activists," "plunging the country into a white terror," and so forth. Facts proved that the masses opposed the act, which was in contravention of the law and a breach of discipline. A handful of students who took part in the incident of beating and struggling against people at random were influenced and hoodwinked by the ultraleftist ideological trend deliberately incited by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company. As a result, their frenzied acts violated party policy. The intention of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's instructions was explicit. He intended to educate and guide those lawbreakers and help them raise their political consciousness so that they would attach importance to the policies. These instructions had nothing to do with an "attack" against or "suppression" of the masses. Even those who had stirred up trouble in the "18 June" incident were only seriously criticized by the work team through the broadcast speech, and no punishment was imposed on them. Does this smack of "attack" and "suppression"? If this is regarded as a "bourgeois reactionary line," it is no different from the act of giving a dog a bad name and hanging it! The history of the 10-year period of chaos proves that it was counterrevolutionary conspirators such as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company who truly suppressed the revolutionary masses and plunged our country into a white terror.

After the "18 June" incident, the work team reported to Chen Boda on the origin and development of the incident. At that time Chen Boda said: "The '18 June' incident was not a simple one. It was a counterrevolutionary event and was engineered by an underground headquarters." Kang Sheng instructed the work team to ferret out the behind-the-scenes boss of the incident. However, a few days later they went back on their word, suddenly changed their attitude and made unfounded countercharges. All this not only exposed their true features as counterrevolutionary doubledealers but also proved that the work team had resolutely acted in accordance with the directives of the party Central Committee and had foiled the plot of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to seize power amid confusion. Eventually they were no longer able to restrain themselves, and they jumped out onto the stage from behind the scenes, instigating the masses to break away from the party leadership and expel the work team. On 19 July, acting on the orders of Kang Sheng, Nie Yuanzi suddenly made a speech opposing the work team. On 22-23 July Jiang Qing, Chen Boda and others came to Beijing University. They held discussions aimed at instigating the masses to debate the "18 June" incident and oppose the work team. On 25 and 26 July and 4 August Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng as well as Chen Boda again came to Beijing University. They presided over a mass meeting attended by 10,000 people to incite people to debate the "18 June" incident and the work team. They delivered a series of speeches and enormously spread the ultraleftist ideological trend. Chen Boda was manifestly unable to detect right from wrong and regarded the viciously illegal "18 June" incident as a "revolutionary event." They even trumped up the case of a girl student who had committed suicide over a love affair and falsely accused the work team of persecuting her and suppressing the masses. The shameless behavior of Jiang Qing and company was immediately opposed by the masses. A classmate of the girl student passed a slip of paper to them, asking: "What are you doing here? Have you no brains? The act of obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence does not conform to Mao Zedong Thought. I warn you: If you persist in doing this, you will cut yourselves off from the masses." However, they still acted wilfully and falsely charged the work team with persecuting the girl student. What was even more vicious was that Kang Sheng slandered the work team's report on the "18 June" incident, authorized by Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as a "counterrevolutionary document" and thereby directed the main thrust of the attack at Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Kang Sheng also accused the work team of failing to "rely on the masses, believe in the masses and take the mass line." He incited the masses to "save themselves by relying on their own efforts." Chen Boda accused those students who had opposed repelling the work team of being "influenced by the old society, the habitual forces of the bourgeoisie and the forces of the exploiting class." He viciously incited them to "smash these habitual forces." Afterward they announced at the rally that the work team was an "obstacle" and "a lid suppressing student revolution." They accused the work team of "suppressing student revolution" and "implementing the bourgeois line to suppress the Great Cultural Revolution." Their purpose in doing so was to incite the masses to break away from the party leadership and destroy the party leadership at all levels. Their theory of "encouraging the masses to save themselves by relying on their own efforts" actually was a case of advocating the "theory of spontaneity" and spreading the ideological trend of anarchism to deceive and corrupt the masses. The "habitual forces" which they intended to smash were precisely our party's fine tradition. Their so-called "revolutionary" actions and "brave spirit" were actually an outrageous act of instigating

atrocities, breaking laws, violating discipline and wantonly trampling upon party discipline and state law.

After expelling the work team, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda supported Nie Yuanzi in usurping the leadership of Beijing University. Thereafter, Beijing University became their main stronghold for promoting their ultraleftist line and exercising fascist dictatorship. The act of breaking laws and violating discipline became a "revolutionary practice." The practice of criticizing and struggling against people at random, beating, smashing, looting, housebreaking and kidnaping became more and more serious. More and more cadres and teachers were brutally struggled against and ruthlessly attacked. According to statistics, over a period of a few days in late August 1966, the houses of more than 100 people were searched. Books and daily necessities of some teachers were confiscated. Even foreign teachers were raided. Among 2,000 teachers and administrative staff, about 260 were forced to labor under surveillance with black placards hanging from their necks. In the so-called "Paris Commune-type" election for the revolutionary committee of the university, more than 530 people were deprived of their right to vote. To further persecute cadres and the masses, Nie Yuanzi went so far as to set up an illegal court and prisons, arrest people, adopt various kinds of brutal means to extort confession by torture, provoke conflicts and beat people to death. Beijing University was turned into a hell on earth. Under the pretext of "establishing ties," Nie Yuanzi and company spread these reactionary experiences throughout the country. According to incomplete statistics, in the 1-month period from 29 July to 28 August 1966, 2.124 million people came to Beijing University to establish ties. By distributing the tabloid newspaper XIN BEI DA and setting up "liaison stations," Nie Yuanzi and company stirred up trouble throughout the country, ferreted out and struggled against a large number of cadres of the central authorities and local party, government and military units and shattered the party organizations at all levels. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Beijing University was a hotbed and sinister example of subjecting people to random beating, housebreaking, criticism and struggle and a "political showcase" for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company, who directed a farce of usurping party leadership and state power.

To sum up, it is ridiculous to accuse Comrade Liu Shaoqi of "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line" because of the work of the work team at Beijing University. It is not difficult for us to draw the following conclusions:

1. In the initial stage of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was in charge of the work of the central authorities, sent a work team to Beijing University and expeditiously instructed the work team to strengthen its leadership over the campaign and implement the policies well, because after the broadcast of Nie Yuanzi's wall posters the party organizations of the university collapsed and the whole university was thrown into chaos. Afterward he wrote instructions on the report of the work team concerning the matter of stopping the act of breaking laws and violating discipline. In so doing he upheld the party leadership and safeguarded the socialist legal system. Facts have proved that it was necessary and correct for him to do so. His action in sending a work team and writing the instructions was connected only with the methods of work and some specific policies in the work. It did not involve the basic principles and



line of the party. In a certain historical period the political line of the party is a basic line for realizing the party's political programs and a matter of principle which has a direct bearing on the whole situation. However, the act of sending a work team and writing instructions was not a matter of political line. Furthermore, it was not wrong for Comrade Liu Shaoqi to adopt the two measures. How could we say that he formulated and pushed a "reactionary line"? The charge brought against Comrade Liu Shaoqi by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company was out-and-out mean and vicious political slander.

2. The act of accusing Comrade Liu Shaoqi of allegedly "formulating and pushing a bourgeois reactionary line" was an important step taken by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to usurp party leadership and state power by taking advantage of the "Cultural Revolution." Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a long-tested and outstanding leader of the party and state. For a long period of time in the past he had been loyal to the party and people and enjoyed the love and esteem of the entire party and people of various nationalities throughout the country. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was an impassable obstacle to the plot of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company to usurp party leadership and state power. In the initial stage of the "Cultural Revolution," Comrade Liu Shaoqi's actions had defeated their plot to usurp party leadership and state power. As a result, they hated Comrade Liu Shaoqi to the very marrow of their bones and carried out plots and schemes to fabricate charges against him. After expelling the work team from Beijing University and setting up an example of "doubting everything and overthrowing everything," they promptly spread the evils which originated at Beijing University to the whole country. They initiated the campaign of criticizing the "bourgeois reactionary line" and expelling work teams throughout the country. Most of the party organizations were slandered as "stubborn strongholds for the implementation of the bourgeois reactionary line," and the broad masses of party members were slandered as "diehard elements who pursue the bourgeois reactionary line" and "royalists." An adverse current of "giving the party committee the boot to make revolution ourselves" was whipped up, and the party organizations at all levels were shattered. All those leading cadres who objected to the ultraleftist acts and illegal behavior incited by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company were accused of "implementing the bourgeois reactionary line" or were "singd" and "bombarded." What was even more serious was that some of our leading cadres were labeled "dyed-in-the-wool capitalist roaders" and "demons with the heads of oxen and spirits with the bodies of serpents" and were overthrown. The so-called "bourgeois reactionary line" became a magic wand which Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company used to randomly hit out at cadres and party members and sabotage production. All this brought great calamity to the entire party and the people of various nationalities throughout the country.

3. The charges involved in the "bourgeois reactionary line" concocted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and company were confused in concept and ridiculous in theory. In the international communist movement there are only two erroneous political lines insofar as their forms are concerned—"left" opportunist and right opportunist. The struggle between the two lines is a reflection within the party of the class struggle in society. Objectively speaking, an erroneous line is beneficial to the bourgeoisie. However, as a political concept



it is different from the bourgeois political line. They are two entirely different things and should not be confused. In the meantime, the struggle between two lines is a kind of struggle within the party. The confrontation between the correct and erroneous lines is different from the confrontation between the revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries insofar as their concepts are concerned. They are also two entirely different things. The fact that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda deliberately confused inner-party struggle with the struggle between the enemy and ourselves and accused Comrade Liu Shaoqi of promoting a "bourgeois" and "reactionary" line completely exposed their vicious intent to destroy Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This was also evidence of their crime of opposing Marxism from the extreme left standpoint.

CSO: 4004

## WHAT MODERN PRODUCTION DEMANDS OF EDUCATION

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[Article by Gu Mingyuan [7357 2494 6678]]

[Text] As a social phenomenon, education is closely linked to social production. Education plays a vital role in promoting the development of production. However, before the advent of large-scale industrial production, school education was monopolized by a handful of people in the ruling class, and workers could only acquire production knowledge and skills by serving as apprentices. School education was completely divorced from productive labor. Only with the emergence of machine production or large-scale industrial production was there a demand for workers with scientific and cultural knowledge and expertise. With the struggle of the working class for the right to education, universal free education was begun by the capitalist countries in the 19th century. Following the unremitting development of social production, a very great development has taken place in the scale and content of education over the last century. What, then, are the demands made by the development of modern social production on education? The study of this question is of great significance as to how China's education can serve the realization of the four modernizations.

What are the characteristics of modern production? Marx in "Das Kapital" pointed out: "Modern industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually effecting changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the laborer and in the social combinations of the labor process." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, pp 533-534) Although the meaning of production is vastly different from that of the period of the steam engine, the characteristics of continuous changes in the technical basis of production described by Marx are similarly manifested in modern production.

Modern production is based on the extensive use of machines. Only when production was mechanized did science and technology have a direct connection with production. The faster application of scientific and technological achievements in production has caused a rapid development of the productive forces and as a result has transformed the social life of the people and continually altered the functions of the laborers. In the traditional production of the past, the functions of a laborer never changed during his lifetime. However, this is out of the

question at present. The functions of laborers are continually being transformed and changed along with production technology. Marx pointed out: "Modern industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labor, fluency of function and universal mobility of the laborer." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 534) Moreover, he held that this variation of labor was a natural law that large-scale industrial production could not overcome. The extensive use of modern science and technology in production has gradually caused the laborers directly engaged in productive labor to shift from direct engagement to a mainly supervisory role over production. In other words, people have handed over all the functions of logical thinking in the accomplishment of production to technical means (computers and so forth), and this has enabled them to be gradually liberated from the direct process of productive operation (but not the general process of production). The ratio of physical labor has gradually reduced, and the ratio of mental labor has gradually increased.

The characteristics of modern production have imposed demands on education which are different from any in the past. Modern production demands that the laborers be as fully developed as possible to adapt to the variation of labor. It requires the laborers not only to engage in manual labor but also to be capable of engaging in mental labor in order to adapt to the use of science and technology in production. The first time Marx mentioned the "fully developed individual" was in his discourse on large-scale industrial production more than a century ago. He said: "Modern industry through its crises necessitates recognition of the variation of work as a fundamental law of production. This in turn necessitates fitness of the laborer for varied work, which in turn necessitates maximum development of his varied aptitudes. It becomes a question of life and death for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law. Indeed, modern industry compels society under the penalty of death to replace the detailed worker of today, crippled by lifelong repetition of one and the same trivial operation and thus reduced to the mere fragment of a man, with the fully developed individual." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 535) In simple terms, modern industry requires fully developed individuals who understand the basic principles of science, technology and production and who can adapt to the mode of the continuous transformation of production technology and variation of labor.

How could fully developed individuals be cultivated? Marx maintained that it could be done by combining education with productive labor. He said: "As Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future is an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 530) From this it can be seen that the fully developed individuals required by large-scale industrial production can only come from the process of combining education with productive labor.

In the past, educational theorists regarded combining education with productive labor as "the dividing line between proletarian education and bourgeois education." This is not comprehensive enough. Not only is it a question of life and death for large-scale industrial production, but it is also a question of law. It

plays a role not only in proletarian education but also in bourgeois education. From our observation of modern education in industrialized capitalist countries we can deduce the following: The reason for the rapid development of education in industrialized countries is precisely that their economic development demands education to train technicians and experienced workers with scientific and cultural knowledge. At the same time, the development of education to comply with this demand in turn stimulates the development of the economy.

Naturally, under the capitalist system, combining education with productive labor is only an objective need of modern production. It is a different thing for the proletariat, whose goal is the ultimate realization of communism and, through it, the elimination of the distinction between physical and mental labor. At the same time, as Marx said, because of the inherent contradiction of capitalism or the contradiction between the socialist nature of production and private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie must always keep a reserve labor force for the sake of obtaining cheap labor. Therefore, modern production must, on the one hand, continually vary the functions of the laborers in the wake of the transformation of production technology and, on the other hand, keep a group of laborers unemployed. Consequently, combining education with productive labor can never be completely realized under the capitalist system. It can only be realized after the working class has seized power.

Obviously, combining education with productive labor demands that the content of the students' studies be in line with the scientific and technical knowledge required by modern production and integrated with modernized large-scale industrial production. Combining education with handicraft production or describing the sweeping, cleaning and self-service labor of the students as combining education with productive labor is to distort the meaning of combining education with productive labor and will also make it impossible to genuinely carry out combining education with productive labor.

In organizing education, how can we adhere to this general law of combining education with productive labor in China? Our understanding should be: Combine and adapt education to the whole of the national economy and to production and construction. Train students who can master modern scientific and technical knowledge and skills, adapt to the constant changes in modern production in the four modernizations and become fully developed people. For this reason, the whole educational course should pay attention to the following points.

1. Educational planning must be made an important component of national economic planning. First we must solve a question of understanding. We must understand the role of modern education in modernized production and thereby understand that, without modern education, modern production cannot be carried out and there is no hope for the four modernizations. People have always said that science and technology are the key and education the cornerstone of the four modernizations. This is because we must rely on education for the training of scientists and technicians and a skilled labor force. Education should be put to the fore. Particularly since the training of personnel requires a comparatively long time, priority must be given to the consideration of educational planning. Not only must investment in education provide the labor force needed by national economic construction at present, but it must also anticipate the



labor force required by national economic construction over the next 10 to 20 years. Judging from the experience of industrialized countries, the growth rate of investment in education often outstrips the growth rate of investment in material production, which is very reasonable. For more than 20 years the growth rate of educational expenditure in China has lagged far behind the growth rate of investment in material production, and this has caused our educational undertakings to fall behind the development of the national economy. In addition, because of the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," education has also held back the national economy. Therefore, to enable education to keep abreast of the development of the national economy, we must gradually change the ratio of investment in education in relation to investment in the entire national economy and must gradually increase educational expenditure. Naturally, we must take into consideration the financial resources of the country when increasing educational expenditure and act according to our ability. In order not to adversely affect the progress of economic construction, we cannot suddenly increase educational expenditure too much. Only by ideologically paying attention to this question can we gradually make some improvements.

2. There must be a proper ratio on educational undertakings. We must set up a system of education suited to China's national economic development in order to satisfy the demands of various production and construction departments for qualified people. At present there is a special need for reforming the structures of secondary education and higher education. According to statistics, a high-level scientist or technician requires three to five middle-level technicians to assist him. Therefore we cannot only train university and college graduates but must also correspondingly train middle-level technicians. At the same time, most of the middle school graduates will be seeking employment, and secondary education must prepare them for future employment. Practice has proved that ordinary middle school graduates without labor training are not suited to the needs of modern production. Secondary education must change its single system method and set up all kinds of specialized schools, technical schools and vocational schools to satisfy the diversified needs of social life. Society and educational departments at various levels have already paid attention to this question, and experiments have been carried out at selected points, but further investigation and study must be carried out in coordination with labor departments before this can be solved in a planned and systematic manner.

Institutions of higher learning must also be diversified. Apart from the 4-year system of university education, we must also adopt more 2-year systems for university and technical school education. Only in this way can we satisfy the needs of society for all kinds of qualified people and the demands of young people for higher education, and at the same time guarantee the quality of institutions of higher learning and maximize the economic results of the investment in education. There must be a proper ratio between liberal arts and science subjects. The ratio of liberal arts subjects must be increased. Various special liberal arts subjects have their own vocational knowledge that not everybody is capable of assimilating. The organization and management of modern production in particular urgently require qualified people with vocational knowledge. The question of fostering such talent has already become readily apparent and merits attention.

While making a success of full-time day schools, we must simultaneously energetically strengthen spare-time education for the workers. The comparatively low scientific and cultural level of our contingent of workers is restricting the use of advanced technology and equipment. Therefore, the reeducation of the contingent of workers is an important condition for realizing China's four modernizations.

The reform of the structure of education must be combined with the reform of the cadre system and the reform of the labor system. If we only reform the structure of education and do not reform the cadre system or set vocational demands on the cadres, then the qualified people trained by educational departments will be unable to bring their talents into play. China's liberal arts education occupies a very small proportion of the institutions of higher learning. There is actually a shortage of qualified people in the liberal arts. However, in actual life many liberal arts graduates have changed their professions. For example, most of the graduates from the education discipline have changed their profession in the last 10 years. This is because no explicit professional demand has been set for school principals or for directors of educational sections, departments and bureaus. It seems that anyone can hold such posts without professional training. If this practice of paying attention only to class status, family background and record of service and not to academic background and professional knowledge is not changed in the cadre system, even if more liberal arts students were to be trained they still could not bring their role into play. The same also applies to the labor system. If recruitment pays no attention to academic background and professional ability, vocational and technical schools cannot be consolidated. Therefore, reform of the structure of education must be studied, and overall planning must be carried out by the educational department together with the labor, organization and planning departments.

3. The standard of the qualified people trained must be in line with the needs of modern production and the rapid development of modern science and technology. What kind of specialists should higher education train in particular? The professional knowledge of the specialists trained in the past was rather restricted and played a very important role in dealing with specific problems of production. However, with the development of modern science and technology and the continuous transformation of modern production, these specialists can no longer keep abreast with the demands of the situation. The swift and vigorous development of science and technology has caused technical innovation to spread from individual departments or links of production to include the whole department and process of production. This requires the specialists to have professional mobility and adaptability, as well as the ability to keep abreast of the constantly improving professional knowledge we are confronted with.

For example, modern production requires foresight on the part of the administrative personnel. A modern factory takes many years from construction to production, and the products of the factory at the time of production are often not anticipated in the design of the plant. The person in charge must have foresight and promptly make changes in the design. In scientific research it is impossible at present for scientific research personnel to know everything. Therefore, the person in charge must make up for the inadequacies of the scientific research and production personnel in this respect. He must not only

be able to see more thoroughly and further ahead than the scientific research and production personnel, but must also have the ability to organize research and production and must have full control of the scientific and technical situation. Therefore, higher education not only must train qualified scientists and technicians but also must produce people who possess both extensive knowledge and profound scholarship.

At present the task of institutions of higher learning can no longer be restricted to merely imparting available knowledge to students. The high degree of development of science and technology and their application to production have imposed on the institutions of higher learning the necessity of developing scientific research. If they do not develop scientific research, they will be unable to keep abreast with the developing situation, improve their scientific level and teaching quality or train qualified scientists and technicians and qualified administrators. At the same time, many subjects of scientific research straddle various branches of learning. Only institutions of higher learning, and particularly universities with more faculties and comprehensive schools, have the amenities for dealing with subjects straddling various branches of learning. Therefore, to adapt the institutions of higher learning to the needs of modern production we must shift the emphasis to running them not only as centers of education but also as centers of scientific research.

4. The content of education must reflect the most advanced achievements of contemporary science and technology. This is an indisputable point. However, we must still investigate and experiment carefully as to how to put this into effect. The experience of foreign countries over the last 20 years or more shows that there are several points which merit our emulation and reference:

1) The study of science at secondary and primary schools must be strengthened. We must compile a complete set of textbooks reflecting the new achievements of modern science which are suitable for primary and secondary school education and books for the students to read out of class. We must strengthen the content of scientific education from primary school onward, so that children can study science and develop a keen interest in science at an early age. Strengthening the study of science does not mean teaching students everything but teaching them the most elementary, essential and advanced things. Therefore, the planning of primary and secondary school courses and the compiling of teaching materials are crucial to improving the quality of primary and secondary school education.

2) In strengthening the study of science we must at the same time strengthen the teaching of foreign languages. There are no national boundaries in modern science. To obtain the latest information on science and technology we must know foreign languages. The foreign language level of a country to a certain extent reflects the cultural and educational level of that country. Because we have not attached sufficient importance to foreign language teaching in the past, the foreign language level of our scientists and technicians is very low, and this has become the stumbling block to assimilating foreign science and technology. We must draw a lesson from this. The teaching of foreign languages should also begin at the primary and secondary schools, and students must pass the foreign language test in middle school before they can devote themselves to the study of specialized knowledge at the university.



3) Secondary schools must strengthen arts and crafts education or comprehensive technical education, so that the students can have an initial understanding of the concept of modern production and the general process of production and master the skills of using the basic tools of labor. This means that we must properly organize the students to take part in productive labor. Where possible, schools may operate factories, workshops or farms to develop the labor concept and skills of the students.

) Institutions of higher learning must strengthen basic courses, so that the students will have extensive basic knowledge and therefore stronger adaptability. At present, institutions of higher learning in all countries of the world are generally attaching importance to the teaching of basic courses and guarding against narrow specialization (apart from special courses for developing a specialty). Some of the more famous science and engineering colleges in the United States have increased the number of lectures on mathematics and other basic sciences in recent years and are clearly reducing the time spent on specialized courses. For example, in the training program for electrical engineers, basic courses accounted for 25 percent of the teaching time in the 1950's, but the teaching time for specialized courses has been cut from 45 percent to 30 percent and then 20 percent. In recent years, other countries have also been paying attention to the strengthening of basic courses.

For the sake of enabling university graduates to possess extensive knowledge, the mutual infiltration and integration of liberal arts and science subjects is also a current trend of reform in institutions of higher learning. The famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States has also set up a liberal arts department. Undergraduate courses for first- and second-year students total 180 credits, 60 of which are required in natural sciences, 72 in the humanities, arts and social science, 36 in classified natural science and 12 in laboratory work. The science and engineering colleges of the Soviet Union have also been attaching importance to the teaching of liberal arts subjects in recent years. Some have set up courses in history, literature, arts and psychology, and they are demanding that the engineers of the future be familiar with labor legislation and engineering psychology.

5. In the method of development we must pay attention to developing the ability of the students to study on their own. The rapid development of science and technology has led to an "explosion" of scientific information and knowledge. According to statistics, there have been more new discoveries and inventions in science and technology over the last 10 years than in the whole of the last 2,000 years. At present some 5 million scientific papers are published throughout the world, and some 300,000 patents for inventions are registered every year. It is impossible for students to learn all the scientific knowledge in the short space of a dozen years at school. What the students study at school is the most elementary knowledge. The important thing is to develop the ability of the students to study on their own. So long as the ability of students to study on their own is strengthened and the method of conducting independent research is mastered, they will be able to accumulate new scientific knowledge, keep on improving their own scientific level in work and adapt themselves to the new changes and developments in science and technology. Therefore, schools at various levels must pay attention to developing the ability of students to study on



their own and, in particular, must begin at the primary school. Institutions of higher learning must pay attention to developing the ability of students to study and work independently. University courses must be appropriately reduced, and we must change the traditional method of instruction to allow students more time for independent study. In strengthening the teaching of basic courses we must at the same time allow senior students to participate in scientific research and engineering planning to develop and temper their capabilities.

The aforementioned points are only a few opinions concerning the general demands of modern production on education, viewed from the angle of realizing this universal law of combining education with productive labor. The influence of modern production has permeated the entire social life of the people and imposed new demands on all links of the policy, system, content and method of education, as well as the means of education. We must study it as an important problem of education and scientific research. The conscientious investigation and study, reform, practice and exploration of this law will enable China's educational undertakings to make new contributions to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004

HOW LITERATURE AND ART SHOULD CORRECTLY REFLECT CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE--  
EXCERPTS OF SPEECHES BY COMRADES OUYANG SHAN AND OTHERS IN A FORUM

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[Text] Editor's Note: Correctly reflecting and portraying contradictions among the people is an important task in developing socialist literature and art. The propaganda department of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and the literary section of RED FLAG invited some writers and literary and art critics in Guangdong to a forum on this problem. Participants in the forum freely aired their views and expressed good ideas by relating this problem to reality. Excerpts of their remarks in the forum are published below.

Chen Yueping (member of the standing committee of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and director of the propaganda department):

In the past few years, literary and art work in our province has been very lively. With the emancipation of the mind and the enlivening of work, many new situations and problems have appeared and require our further discussion and solution. One example is the problem of how literature and art should reflect contradictions among the people. Today we are asking you comrades to discuss this problem. All of you are free to express your opinions and to say whatever comes to mind. Unanimity is not necessary. We can seek common grounds on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. We hope that through discussion we can strive to produce more and better socialist literary and artistic works beneficial to the people.

Ouyang Shan:

Literary works of revolutionary realism have always portrayed both contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. There is no question of whether or not we should write about them. However, people began to talk about this question in 1957. Obviously, on the theoretical level no one was ever against writing about any type of contradiction. However, in the practice of literary creation writers often felt that writing about contradictions among the people causes more trouble. Those unsophisticated literary criticisms branded works which dealt with contradictions among the people as "vilifying the working people" and "presenting a bad picture of socialism" or even termed them "antiparty

and antisocialism." This caused some writers to regard portraying contradictions among the people as a perilous undertaking. This type of work almost became a forbidden zone.

During the early period of the People's Republic we had opposed the theory of "writing about reality." This viewpoint held that the brighter side of the socialist society is not real. Only its darker side is real. However, if we think that in socialist society only the brighter side is real while the darker side is not, this is also a distortion of reality. We have committed an error in this area. Later, people were afraid to mention even literary realism or the fact that literary creation must reflect the reality of life. This was a taboo that brought us much harm. Later there was the criticism of the doctrine of the "great road of realism" and the doctrine of the "middle character." In 1963 and 1964, two instructions were issued that were divorced from the real situation, and the rectification campaign in literature and art followed this. Almost all works that dealt with contradictions among the people were criticized and negated.

Not long after the start of the "Great Cultural Revolution," particularly after the issuance of Jiang Qing's "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces," works portraying contradictions among the people became the first target of attack. They were all condemned as big poisonous weeds. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company cooked up the so-called "conspiratorial literature and art," distorted contradictions among the people into contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and slandered the revolutionary veteran cadres as "capitalist roaders." Works like "Counterattack" and "The Joyous Xiaoliang River" were their tools in using literature and art to engage in political conspiracy.

Today, to seriously implement the "double hundred" principle and make literary and artistic creations flourish greatly depends on whether or not we can create an atmosphere conducive to the portrayal of contradictions among the people and sweep away all kinds of restrictions and taboos. We must vigorously advocate portraying the brighter side of our society. That is our sacred duty. However, can and should works portraying the darker side of things among the people exist? According to the original intent of the "double hundred" principle, they can and should exist. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The masses of people also have shortcomings. These shortcomings must be overcome by criticism and self-criticism among the people. To conduct this criticism and self-criticism is one important task of literature and art." Therefore, our principal task is still to continue criticizing the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary line enforced by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and to emancipate our minds. We must not from the minute we see works touching on the darker side of our society, or even conceal faults for fear of criticism and thus create new restrictions and taboos. This is one aspect of the problem.

There is another aspect to this problem. When we portray contradictions among the people, particularly when we touch on the darker side, we must seriously study the actual conditions and must adopt the attitude of seeking truth from facts. We must maintain the political situation of stability and unity and take the social effect of our works into consideration.

First, we must see that the darker side of socialist society is not inherent in the socialist system but a nonessential and transient phenomenon. Through the efforts of our party and the people of the whole country, this darker side is shrinking with each passing day. It will gradually be eliminated and will not be allowed to spring up again. If we consider this darker side as inherent in the socialist system and portray it as a permanent and essential thing, then we are wrong. That will have harmful effects on society.

Second, with regard to our government and its leadership at all levels, we must clearly realize that they are personnel of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must cherish them and respect them. We must not forget how much sweat and blood was expended and how many precious lives were sacrificed to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the personnel of the organs of this dictatorship have shortcomings and have made mistakes, we must enthusiastically criticize them and help them correct their errors. We must not imitate some anarchists, extreme individualists and a handful of antagonistic elements in society by ridiculing, hurling invectives at, slandering and negating them. If a writer regards our government and cadres as the type of government and officials portrayed in Gogol's "The Government Inspector" and fails to distinguish between a revolutionary and a reactionary regime, then what right has he to engage in socialist literary creation?

Third, the CCP is the core of leadership of our revolutionary cause. At present the party is leading us in the new Long March toward the four modernizations. We must not have any doubts or waver in our trust in the party's leadership. Undoubtedly, literary works must portray the great, glorious and correct side of the CCP while also suitably portraying its shortcomings and mistakes. However, we must never seize on those transient, nonessential things to vilify, attack and slander our party. For instance, we must not say that the whole Communist Party does not have a single qualified party member just because there are a few unqualified members in our party; we must not say that a privileged class exists in our society just because some of our cadres seek privileges. If our literary works adopt such a negative attitude toward our party, even the revolutionary workers and the broad masses of people would find them unacceptable.

Then, is it not very difficult to portray contradictions among the people and touch on the darker side of our society while also taking into account the above considerations, that is, insisting on the four basic principles? It is indeed not easy. However, it is not impossible. The key lies in whether or not we can master the Marxist world outlook and stand firmly on the side of the proletariat and the great masses of people.

Chen Canyun:

People understand problems and things differently because of differences in their station and personalities. In the writer's observation of life and contemplation of problems or in his portrayal of contradictions among the people and exposure of the shortcomings and mistakes in the course of social progress and the darker side of society there is a problem of consciousness. If the writer's consciousness is muddled and he fails to grasp the essence of matters, his observation and analysis of life will not be accurate.



We must continue to emancipate our minds and boldly engage in creation. Even if we misunderstand some problems and write some unsophisticated or even erroneous things, that is but normal. We must do things according to the "double hundred" principle and engage in comradely discussions. Both criticism and counter-criticism must be allowed.

Our literature and art must be beneficial to socialism and to the leadership of the party. Our works must be inspirational as well as educational to the people in order to heighten their spirits and foster noble sentiments in them. If a work makes the readers or audience waver in their faith in the party and their confidence in socialism or makes them low-spirited and dejected, then what good purpose is served by this work? A revolutionary writer must never forget his social responsibility.

In the course of reflecting contradictions among the people there is also a question of portraying reality. Undoubtedly our works must reflect real life and the struggle of the masses. But we must discriminate. We must not write about anything we find in life and write in whatever way we like. There must be discretion. A writer who cherishes the cause of socialism will consciously choose those subjects which are inspiring, meaningful, beneficial to stability and unity and promote the building of the four modernizations.

Yu Feng:

We are used to saying "writing about contradictions between the enemy and ourselves" and "writing about contradictions among the people." These terms usually lead to oversimplifications, because these two types of contradictions are not static. They could be interlocked and be transformed into each other. Particularly because literature is the study of man, literary works are often written about man. Man develops in contradictions and struggles, but he is not the contradiction itself. Some works in the past knew only how to make up contradictions by plotting out which is the main contradiction and which is the secondary one, and which is the main theme and which is the contrast. Characters were planted in a certain position in the network of contradictions and were mere puppets. They acted out stereotyped plots according to the writer's wishes. This is graphic politics or graphic policy. It is undesirable. Due to this kind of oversimplified understanding, writers feel that writing about contradictions between the enemy and ourselves is easy, while writing about contradictions among the people is difficult. They think that in the first case the outcome of "contradictions between the enemy and ourselves" is a foregone conclusion. So, naturally, the writer can do whatever he likes in attacking the targets of the dictatorship. He does not have to worry about any policy. This is a total misconception.

Our socialist literature naturally must serve the people and socialism. Portraying socialist modernization is one of the indispensable aspects and a major component part. For this we must sweep away all obstacles on the road of our advance. The "gang of four" has disappeared from the stage of history. But is it not true that their pernicious influence has not disappeared? Is it not true that the ultraleftist line of thinking still exists? Is it not true that some people are still harassing us by switching between "leftist" and rightist means?

And is it not true that bureaucracy and the privilege-seeking mentality, which are heavily tainted with feudalism, still constitute stumbling blocks confronting us? "All forces of darkness which harm the masses must be exposed." The "forces of darkness" we are talking about here are both in the camp of the class enemies and within the ranks of the people. That is to say, exposure applies not only to dealing with class enemies but also to dealing with certain evil things among the ranks of the people.

Today the work focus of the party has shifted. We must indeed again go deep into real life to learn about life. Otherwise, how are we to discover new situations, understand new problems, reflect new contradictions and portray new characters? It is only by going deep into life, plunging into the struggle and grasping the law of development of objective reality in the new period that we can possibly reflect contradictions and portray characters accurately. Then we will know by heart how to expose the forces of darkness and how much to expose.

Hua Jia:

The party Central Committee has now made itself heard. It has indicated that it will encourage and support writers to boldly experiment and explore in their creative endeavors and will not arbitrarily bring political charges against writers because of faults found in their works. This demonstrates its faith in us and heightens our sense of responsibility. We must emancipate our minds, think independently and boldly engage in creative work. Life in socialist society is very complex and rich. Particularly after the 10 years of catastrophe, 3 years of bringing order out of chaos and the start in building socialist modernization, all kinds of conditions and views exist in society. To truthfully reflect these contradictions and struggles, inevitably we have to praise those things which are true, good and beautiful and expose and attack those that are false, evil and ugly.

All literary works have a certain influence on the readers. When a writer produces a work, subjectively he intends it to have a good influence. However, sometimes this good intention is not realized. The opposite social effect might even be produced. Therefore, allowing people to commit mistakes and correct them and encouraging criticism and counter-criticism are good methods of promoting emancipation of the mind and enlivening literary creation. As I see it, this new atmosphere is one of stability and unity and vitality and vigor. It will bring about great developments and a flourishing of our literary creations.

Du Ai:

In the developing socialist reality the dominant aspect among the people is the brighter side. However, a darker and backward side also exists. Writers must examine the problems existing in life. Even bad things in their embryonic forms must be exposed and criticized, so that they can be overcome before they have a chance to develop. Both praise and criticism are combat duties of socialist literature. From its very beginning, proletarian literature has always developed by integrating praise for the great communist ideal and criticism of the ugliness of the old world.

The purpose of criticizing the dirty things and attacking the ugly phenomena in the course of reflecting contradictions among the people is to foster noble sentiments in the people, groom socialist new men and safeguard the socialist system. Some people have thought that raising the question of "social effect" is equivalent to bringing in another set of "restrictions" and to ushering in another period of "control." That is wrong. The spiritual products of the architects of the soul have always involved the question of social influence and social effect. The new works produced in the past 3 years or so were mostly good or relatively good. They have made undeniable contributions in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," eliminating their pernicious influence and healing the wounds inflicted on people's minds. We must not panic as soon as we see some problems emerging. Let us return to the question of how to write.

First, there is the question of thinking and sentiment. We are not living in the old society, but in a new society that has shortcomings and that is imperfect. Not everything in life is real. We must not accept literally the word "reality," but must look at it in relation to the trend of development of the revolution. We must look at these problems and reflect them from the thought and sentiment of cherishing socialism and safeguarding the party's leadership. We can write about bureaucracy and privilege seeking, but the purpose of this is to correct and save those cadres who have this bad tendency and not to cause people to lose their faith.

Qin Mu:

The following situation is prevalent in readers circles: Generally speaking, readers pay more attention to short stories than to novels, and literary magazines are more popular than books on literature. Why is this so? Because short stories and literary magazines are faster and keener in reflecting reality, so much so that they have won the affection of the broad masses of people. This is the same reason why plays like "Flowers of Spring" and "Right and Law" were widely acclaimed by audiences. The masses want to be in touch with reality through literary and artistic works. Everyone wants to know about and how to solve some acute real problems. In general, people have a great desire to know about the pace of progress of the cause of modernization in our country, what are the obstacles to it and how to solve problems related to it. If one comes into contact with the masses from all walks of life, one will know that they are generally grieved and agitated by things which harm or obstruct socialist modernization, such as the special privileges of some leading cadres, bureaucracy which hurts the public interest and benefits some individuals and the question of juvenile delinquents. Works that accurately reflect things in this aspect would naturally be popular with the masses.

To carry on and develop the tradition of revolutionary realism, we must emancipate our minds and continue to wage the struggle between the two lines. Realist art must be truthful, but simple truthfulness does not constitute realism in art. Any extreme individualist, anarchist or nihilist can pick up any fragment of a real occurrence in life to propagandize his views and advocate his world outlook. Revolutionary realist art demands that the writers take the stand of the proletariat, that is, face life, sum up life and write works which are both realistic and progressive in order to contribute to the grooming of the socialist



man, uplift the spiritual realm of the people and satisfy the people's growing needs in their cultural life. Writers of the revolutionary realist school must be bold in both praising and exposing. They must truthfully praise things that are progressive while also truthfully attacking decadent and backward things. This is because the process of building the socialist society is also the process of continuous growth of progressive things which are compatible with the system of ownership of the means of production, as well as the process of overcoming backward and even reactionary things which run counter to the system of public ownership.

Most of the contradictions we have to expose at present belong to the category of contradictions among the people. However, we must practice discretion in criticizing, condemning, attacking and satirizing each actual thing, depending on the corresponding conditions. Naturally, that method which arbitrarily applies principles in books of politics to all things, in disregard of the actual conditions, is wrong. We can see that the vast sea is blue. But if we think that every drop of seawater is also blue, then we are very wrong. Political books can make an analysis of the nature of a certain class. However, if we arbitrarily apply the conclusion of this analysis to each member of this class, thinking that every one of them will be the same, sometimes we can be very wrong. The actual situation is much more complicated. Otherwise there would not have been the breaking up of classes, changes, improvements and betrayals of people. The general way to handle contradictions among the people is through persuasion and education. However, if we think that the moment we write about this subject we must necessarily be "benevolent as a buddha," tender and kind, polite and pleasant, we could be very wrong sometimes. There are ordinary contradictions among the people, and there are contradictions among the people which are serious and whose nature could be transformed. There is bureaucratism which only involves busying oneself with trivial things and being divorced from reality, while there also is bureaucratism which involves stepping on the head of the people and oppressing them. Would you say you would use the same writing style in exposing and criticizing all of them?

Yi Gong:

Reflecting contradictions among the people in literary works is a longstanding, big and difficult problem. It is "longstanding" because it has been raised several times in the past 30 years but never resolved. It is "big" because it exists abundantly in actual life. It is "difficult" because contradictions among the people are usually related to the party's leadership. The difficulty lies in the fact that writers might not have the correct understanding and might not take the correct stand; the difficulty lies in the fact that it is hard to practice discretion and hard to determine the proper way of reflecting contradictions, because different persons have different perceptions; the difficulty also lies in the fact that after a piece of work is produced it might not pass official scrutiny and might be attacked. It is seldom that works dealing with contradictions among the people, particularly opposition to bureaucratism, are not criticized. In Guangdong, only Comrade He Qiu's play "Before the Coming of the New Bureau Chief" was not criticized, because after Premier Zhou watched the play in 1956 he made the remark that it was "very educational." Works included in the volume "Flowers Blossoming for the Second Time," published last year, previously



had all been branded as poisonous weeds. Many of them opposed bureaucracy. After liberation I wrote two works reflecting contradictions among the people. Both were criticized.

The usual charges against works which reflect contradictions among the people include the following:

First, "vilifying and slandering the socialist system." Actually, bureaucracy is part of feudalism, and commandism is related to the patriarchal system. Both are remnants of the old society. The purpose of exposing them is to safeguard and consolidate our socialist system. Socialism is a new system. However, it still has some ills of the old society. It still has to undergo a process of gradual perfection. In the meantime, it has a darker side and it is inevitable that it has some shortcomings and mistakes. The important thing is to expose them in time and seriously try to overcome them.

Second, "being deliberately destructive and not constructive." Actually, the overwhelming majority of literary workers love the socialist motherland. Their intention is constructive. However, being constructive does not mean ignoring shortcomings and faults. On the contrary, failure to expose backward things that exist among the people and allowing them to grow and spread would amount to being irresponsible toward socialism. This would really be destructive.

Third, "vilifying a whole group by painting a bad picture of one." Writers have to use types in portraying one character in order to educate the many and thus warn everyone. One may correct mistakes if one has made any and guard against them if one has not. However, some criticisms insist that the writer has vilified a whole group. That is both funny and annoying.

To correctly reflect contradictions among the people, not only should writers go deep into life to remold their world outlook, but the leadership must also be enthusiastic and give them their hearty support and help. This is very important. They must be like Stalin when he supported "Frontline" and Premier Zhou when he supported "Before the Coming of the New Bureau Chief." When some faults are discovered, we need not be agitated. We must calmly go into the nature of the problem and find its solution through down-to-earth discussions and not through vulgar and dogmatic criticism.

Huang Peiliang:

I believe that works reflecting contradictions among the people must pay attention to questions in the following three aspects:

1. Time. We often make the mistake of thinking that reflecting contradictions among the people involves only "exposing." This is very one-sided. Works reflecting contradictions among the people must fully manifest the spirit of the times in our society. The short story "The Day Factory Director Qiao Went to Office" enthusiastically praised Qiao Guangpu, a modern hero who devotes himself to socialist modernization, while also mercilessly castigating Ji Shen's bureaucratic style. The questions raised in the work were very acute. They touched on a series of important problems, such as production management in modern

enterprises and the cadre system of our country. There were instances of praise and exposes, and the handling of the relationship of struggle among various contradictions was quite realistic. After reading it, one feels that there are great obstacles to the achievement of modernization, yet one is filled with confidence and feels that a bright future awaits us. This work is filled with the vigorous spirit of the times in the new period. It represents to us a valuable example in correctly reflecting contradictions among the people.

Of course, we are not saying that works portraying contradictions among the people must necessarily praise and expose at the same time. But one point must be stressed—even works that expose or that are tragic must not give readers the feeling of hopelessness and pessimism. This is because our social system is essentially different from the old social system. The people are now the masters of history, and our party is able to correct its shortcomings and faults which are caused by various factors and to redress miscarriages of justice in a down-to-earth manner. This fact is of essential significance, and it makes our society basically different from those of the past. Therefore, we say that even tragedies exposing the darker side of our society or dealing with the socialist period must still bear the clear marks of our society. This is what we mean when we say that works must reflect the times.

2. Use of types. One basic requirement of literary creation is truthful reflection of real life. Reality in life is not necessarily reality in art. The reason why some works which reflect contradictions among the people have given rise to controversies might be that the authors have not been skillful in grasping the typicality of the setting and characters in choosing their subjects and composing the plot. Typicality means unfolding the mutual relationship between specific typical settings and typical characters, meaning that what the characters in the works do and why they do such things inevitably are limited by the specific setting they are in (that is, the society). If characters in the work are divorced from the specific setting they are in and can do whatever they like, then the image of these characters loses its typical significance. Works exposing social problems written during the past 2 years, such as "The Class Master" and "Save Her," are representative of some successful examples. The authors of these works were able to correctly handle the relationship between the typical setting and the typical characters. Even though what they created were not heroic characters and the main character might even be a villain, their works still have real significance and were able to play a great educational role.

3. Accuracy. Accuracy means that in the course of observing life and engaging in creation the writer must take the standpoint of the proletariat and accurately reflect the original appearance of things. In reflecting contradictions among the people, particularly in works that expose the darker side, we must pay special attention to the question of accuracy in order to avoid negative side effects.

Xiao Yin:

From the point of view of realism, not only must the bright and developing things be portrayed, but also the dark and dying things. This is because the reality of

life means the internal law of development of life, that is, the inevitability of internal contradictions in matter. If we are to reflect this inevitability, not only the new and dominant things, but also the decaying things which oppose the new things must be reflected. Only thus can the true face of life be correctly reflected. For the same reason, aside from fully portraying contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, we must never ignore contradictions and struggles among the people. That view which takes the main trend (or the principal aspect of the contradiction) as the essence or the typical thing is incorrect. In the same manner, that view which holds that the minority is not a typical thing is also incorrect.

Some people blame the tragedies which occurred during the socialist period on the socialist system. This is groundless. The socialist system is a new social system. As this system is being built it inevitably will encounter open or covert resistance and opposition from remnant forces and ideas of the old system. Additionally, our legal system is imperfect and our democracy inadequate. This give them opportunities. Was it not the pernicious influence of the old system which was responsible for the great tragedies of the breaking up of families and deaths during the time Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were wreaking havoc? These tragedies taught us a grim lesson: to avoid the repetition of such tragedies, we must never give in to the remnant forces of feudalism and the mentality of the exploiting class. Only through unrelenting struggle with these forces can we achieve a normal legal system and democratic rights, continue to improve the socialist system and put a stop to all manmade tragedies.

Some people immediately have doubts whenever they see a tragedy, as if they are seeing poison. They consider tragedies as something that makes people depressed and sentimental. One time I was chatting with a colleague who is in his sixties. When we recalled the books we had read during our childhood, we clearly realized that we both grew up reading tragedies. It was precisely these tragedies that made us identify with the good people in the tragedy, feel what they felt, secretly weep for their misfortunes and develop deep hatred for the environment that led them to misfortunes and tragedies--the feudal system, feudal characters and ideas. It was precisely this hatred which led us to the road of revolution.

Lu Xun said: "People see that tragedy destroys the valuable things in life." If one only takes the stand of the people and has certain feelings for justice, one will not fail to feel sorry about the destruction of the "valuable things in life" and nurture hatred, indignation and resentment for the system and ideas which caused their destruction. With time, this subtle influence of tragedies will turn indignation into will, resolution and material force.

Generally speaking, literature must provide inspiration to the readers. However, this does not always mean providing inspiration through a direct way. Some works can raise the vigilance of the people through the portrayal of the criminal activities of villains and the exposure of their despicable character and evil schemes. The plots of some works unfolded in a specific setting in which the forces of darkness temporarily held sway. The revolutionaries died as martyrs in defense of truth. Grief and indignation is impressed in the hearts of the readers. With time, this accumulates and explodes into raging flames of hatred. In some works the victims of the bad people's oppression were the helpless

masses. Although they were filled with just indignation, they were not able to engage in any effective resistance for the time being. The story ended with a picture of misery. However, the readers are still able to get a clear view of the social roots of the tragedy and nurture the seed of hatred in their hearts. In short, as long as the writer always upholds socialist principles and stands and keeps the basic interests of the people in mind, his works will not make people depressed and sentimental, no matter how tragic the subjects are.

This means that subjects and characters must be diversified. However, this does not mean that any kind of subject and details in life should be written into literary works. At present some authors of short stories and plays are keen only on writing about fantastic plots. They seem to be becoming more and more "modern." Not only have these works aroused great interest in young writers, but even some editors of publications have taken fantastic plots as a criterion in selecting articles for publication. On the other hand, they pay no attention to whether the characters are typical and true to life. In some works the author not only does not seriously select and refine his subject, but also blindly imitates others and goes with the fashion in choosing his theme. Some fantastic and bizarre works which could not even be understood were advertised and enthusiastically propagandized as new "varieties." Is this still a normal phenomenon?

If literary works are divorced from the basic interests of the Chinese people, abandon the four basic principles and only go after that which is novel and extraordinary, the result will not only suit (and propagandize) the views, interests and esthetics of other classes, but will lead us up a blind alley. Never forget that we are performing work in the realm of consciousness. We must persist in occupying this position.

CSO: 4004



## PAY ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC RESULTS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 p 49

[Article by Chen Zhaohuang [7115 2507 3552]]

[Text] Over long periods of time we had a particularly conspicuous flaw in pushing agricultural production without paying attention to economic results.

First, when questions arose, many comrades did not make investigations and studies and were no good at comparing economic results. For example, we were frequently asked: Which cropping system is more advantageous--two dryland crops and one of paddy rice, or two of paddy rice and one dryland crop, or one dryland crop and one of paddy rice? In dealing with such a question, if we fail to work things out, we will guide the production blindly.

Second, due to the influence of the ultraleftist line, we only gave prominence to so-called politics but failed to attach importance to economic results. We only paid attention to the so-called orientation and path but neglected management and administration. A few years ago we suffered great losses in the project involving the raising of pigs by collectives, and the economic results were very poor. However, a number of people still stubbornly persisted in running the "pig farm with a hundred pigs" and restricting the commune members' activities in raising pigs. These people wrongly thought that the more pigs the collectives raised, the more correct the orientation and path we followed. As a result, the more losses we suffered in the project.

Third, we only paid attention to increasing production but neglected increasing incomes. The success or failure of production was weighed by the increase in the output of cotton and grain alone but not by the costs of production. In 1975 the output of grain in our country increased by 24 percent and of cotton by 16.1 percent compared with 1965, and agricultural incomes also increased 14.3 percent. However, agricultural expenses rose by more than 40 percent. As a result, the agricultural net output value decreased by 560,000 yuan, with per capita income of commune members dropping by 4.41 yuan.

Fourth, some people only thought of the immediate interests and neglected the long-term ones. They confined their attention to the present and did not care about the future. For example, water and soil conservation were knotty problems of long standing in the water conservation projects. However, some communes and production brigades planted grain, cotton, tulle potatoes and water bamboo on the

river slopes and river banks. They even dug ponds and scooped up sludge to build docks. Some communes and production brigades were stingy with their efforts and money in planting trees and growing grass. They wrongly thought that in so doing they had gained much. Actually, they only postponed trouble.

Fifth, some people only thought of the direct results and neglected the indirect ones. A number of comrades only thought that they had to spend considerable manpower and waste manure to build methane-generating pits, but they neglected the fact that once the pits were completed they could save firewood and use more stalks and straw as fertilizer for the field. They wrongly thought that planting green manure crops would reduce the output of the first crops, but they neglected the fact that the output of the second crops would increase because of the soil improvement. Such instances are too numerous to mention. All this showed that over long periods of time we were not able to insure the application of the measures for increasing production.

The goal of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of the people and incessantly improve their material and cultural life. If we fail to pay attention to agricultural production costs and economic results, we will not be able to gain more income, even though production has increased. Raising the people's living standard will be nothing but empty talk.

To effectively improve economic results we should gain the maximum economic results by consuming the minimum amount of labor. This should be used as a criterion to judge the success or failure of agricultural production and should be a main principle in formulating production plans and deciding technical measures for agricultural production. Communes or production brigades with high grain and cotton outputs but low economic incomes should not be regarded as advanced units. While pursuing a production system of job responsibility, we should regard production costs as a main aspect of assessment. Under the premise of implementing the state plan, communes and production brigades should be allowed to plant industrial crops which will bring large profits. While adopting technical measures for agricultural production, we should compare several proposals and select the best one with the main emphasis placed on economic results. In the meantime, we should establish and perfect the economic accounting system and do a good job of economic analysis. Expenses and manpower for unproductive purposes should be severely restricted, and production costs should be lowered incessantly. We should go deep into reality, make investigations and studies, carry out economic analysis and assess economic results. Furthermore, cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres, should learn some economics. They should endeavor to study economic management and master basic methods of economic analysis and economic accounting, so that they will gradually become experts in economic work. Those cadres who do not know economic work and fail to grasp business management and are content with being laymen should completely change their attitudes.

STEEL CASTING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Wang Weixin [3769 4850 2450]]



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December 18, 1980

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